MATTHEW HENRY AND HIS CHAPEL

H. D. ROBERTS

N & E Lanc Postal Mission

presented J. W. Crompton

1904

10/6

The Rev.d Matthew Henry

late Minister of the Gospel at Chester

MATTHEW HENRY

AND

HIS CHAPEL

1662-1900

H. D. ROBERTS

LIVERPOOL
THE LIVERPOOL BOOKSELLERS' COMPANY, LTD.,
70, LORD STREET

PREFACE

"*To all Concerned*:—

"*The oldest Nonconformist Chapel in Chester celebrates this year a two hundredth Anniversary; for the foundation stone was laid in the month of September, 1699 . . .*

"*Those who worship in this Chapel hold it as a trust from the men and women of two hundred years ago. It is their duty to see to it that the House of God, at all times, is seemly for His Worship.*

"*Is it too much to hope, at this epoch, for yet another Century of existence, for our old historic 'Meeting House'?*" (Calendar, Jan. 1899.)

"*The present Congregation, wishing to renew the Chapel for another and vigorous Century of life, called in Messrs. T. M. Lockwood, F.R.I.B.A., and Sons, to make a thorough examination of the old structure. They declared the roof dangerous, and instead of the amenities of a Bi-Centenary, we found ourselves confronted, finally, with the raising of £900. Towards this we have raised £700; and on work actually completed we are £100 in debt. A new roof is on, and in place of the old ceiling, lying flat on the arches, is a triple-coved ceiling. This,*

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in thorough keeping with the architecture, has greatly improved the Chapel, adding height and giving grace. Dry rot was found in the vestry and gallery ; both have been made good ; the walls of the Chapel have been re-pointed, the yard tiled, and, altogether, the ancient building has been made sound, and thus seemly for worship. But the congregation, in face of the imperative needs of the fabric, have been unable to provide an effective means of heating : final decoration has been compulsorily postponed : whilst the brass tablet giving the names of ministers exists only in idea. Moreover, the writer thinks it highly desirable that the two windows in the north wall, on either side of the pulpit, should be of stained glass, with portraits in the centre of Matthew Henry and James Martineau : thus giving a richer tone to the venerable place.

" *The book,* Matthew Henry and his Chapel, *is in doing : first, and chiefly, because it is worth doing for the intrinsic value and historical interest of the records ; secondly, in the hope that the present minister, who leaves shortly for work under the Liverpool District Missionary Association, may have the personal satisfaction of helping to pay off the debt, and also of adding dignity to the old Chapel.*

" *The period embraced is 1662—1900. The events in Matthew Henry's life, and his father Philip's, will be used to illustrate Nonconformist history.*" (Prospectus, June, 1900.)

The appeal for orders for the book has resulted in the list of subscribers printed at the end ; and, also, in the *receipt of £70 in donations. One hundred pounds would loose an earnest and worthy congregation from liabilities creeping on towards £1,000.*

In the Prospectus, 150–175 pages were promised, including nine illustrations. As a matter of fact over 270 are given, excluding fourteen illustrations.

This, while generously fulfilling promise, has largely increased the cost.

In the first place, the writer has found it is not so easy as it might appear "to illustrate Nonconformist history." Then, when the material had been blocked out, the kindness of Miss Rowland of Neath (a descendant of Philip Henry), in response to an appeal made in The Inquirer, *supplied a rich embarrassment. There came an intensely interesting and valuable packet of MSS., containing Diaries, Sermons, and Letters of Philip Henry, and Diaries and Letters of Matthew's. Much has never been published, and this is especially the case with Matthew's MS. Now, selection brings its own difficulties, but direct omissions touch the heart.*

I can only trust that the faith of a few enthusiastic, but not wealthy, members of the congregation, who have made themselves responsible for the extra cost, will not experience a shock. It cannot be denied, however, that they have furthered the publication of some forty pages of matter which possesses a permanent historic value. Matthew Henry's account of national affairs in 1685–6 is much fuller than Evelyn's. More, it is true, might have been crammed into the page, but some sense of fitness prompted a form in keeping with the subject.

I am indebted to all the writers from whom I take the *liberty to quote, even though our conclusions may sometimes differ.*

To dissent from the Rev. Alex. Gordon, M.A., Principal of the Unitarian Home Missionary College, Manchester, is to find oneself in conflict with an authority who is always teaching. His Heads of English Unitarian History, *containing essays on Baxter and Priestley, should be in the hands of all who would possess the landmarks of liberal religious thought.*

My gratitude is given to all good friends who have lent me books: to the Secretary of the Library Committee of the Ullet Road (late Renshaw Street) Congregation, Liverpool, for the free run of their theological books and leave to burrow in their old "Pamphlets:" and especially to the Librarian and Trustees of Dr. Williams's Library, London, for unfailing courtesy and consideration. No doubt Matthew Henry was hospitable to Dr. Williams on his journeys from Dublin to London.

I have learned much since this work was taken up, and can only hope the book may serve to quicken others' interest in the silent story of Nonconformist history. Personally, my knowledge is just enough to compel me to call upon two men, one, Principal Gordon, the other, Professor Odgers of Manchester College, Oxford, to give us at least a Series of Essays on Leading Points in the Development of Religious Liberty. Between them, each period and section of Dissent would get its due.

H. D. R.

May, 1901.

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CHAPTER I

PHILIP HENRY

MATTHEW HENRY'S Chapel has gone by various names in the past. It was Mr. Henry's Meeting, Protestant Dissenting Chapel, the Chester Meeting, Crook's Lane, Trinity Lane, Crook Street, Trinity Street, the Presbyterian Meeting, "The Chapel where Mr. Gardner officiates," and such like. At the beginning of this century the congregation called it the Unitarian Chapel. And this for a century has been the popular term, whilst, theologically, a true description of the congregation. But it is significant, that for many years the historical sense has been asserting itself. "Matthew Henry's old chapel," in the fond and familiar words of old association, has gradually settled into "Matthew Henry's Chapel" as an official designation. It is not for nothing that the chapel has of late years publicly borne the name of him for whose first ministration it was built. Most of the old Nonconforming places of worship would go by the names of their first ministers, as did "Mr. Henry's Meeting House" in Chester, but no other to-day, so far as our knowledge extends, thus bears present witness to the personality and influence of that first or any succeeding minister.

At the least, this testifies to a name well known and long remembered; and, in truth, this is a Henry Chapel. Matthew, the son, lives in his Commentary, the outcome of a life study of the Scriptures, and the fruit of the sermons delivered from the old pulpit, that stands now, as it did then, in the middle of the north wall: Philip, the father, lives as a sweet confessor for conscience sake, and as the inspirer of his son towards that uninterrupted public ministry which was denied to himself.

In a peculiar degree the father lived in his son.

Silenced as a minister for nearly thirty years, he did not again take up regular duty as the pastor of a congregation, till his son had been for two years the ordained and active minister to the congregation in the city of "The Great Church."

Nor could this be without effect upon the home, and the domestic life. The man in whom "was nothing of a Separatist spirit," yet for whom an Established Church would find no place: the able and godly man who was compelled to refrain from words, though it was grief to him: became a living testimony, in the eyes of his family as of the whole country side, to the price paid for principle. In his person was the good savour of a faithful spirit. To reverent and admiring children person and principle were one;

and, as we know well, sincerity was the pervading characteristic of his household.

It is fitting, therefore, that we should trace the early fortunes of Philip Henry, and elicit the factors that rendered the playmate of princes, and the favoured recipient of a High Church Archbishop's largesse, one of the representative figures of our Nonconformity. No more striking example of the "forced" nature of "schism" can be found than this son of the "King's servant," the god-child of earls and a countess, the favourite pupil of Dr. Busby, the brilliant student of Christ Church, and, withal, the meek personality of a one-time Cavalier.

There is open before us the original manuscript of his autobiography to the end of his university days, and also an original draft of the biography, by Matthew his son. These, and the original diaries, are our main sources of information.

The paternal grandfather of Matthew was born July 10, 1590.

> Hee was the son of Henry Williams of Britton's Ferry, not far from Swansey in Glamorganshire. Hee took his Father's Christen-name for his Sirname, after the Welsh manner. Hee left his native country and father's house very yong, and never saw it again that I ever heard of.

This John Henry set his face toward the great city, as so many have done since his time, and by an orderly transfer from one gentleman's service to another, we find him installed as the King's Servant and Keeper of the Orchard at Whitehall, "and so he lived plentifully and in good repute," but was too good a courtier to save for the unlikely day of adversity, and so "layd by nothing." However, by selling his position as "one of the Pages of the backstayres to the King's Grandson, James, Duke of York, for £600, he was able to maintain himself after the war began."

The grandmother was one Mrs. Magdalen Rochdale, the daughter of Henry Rochdale, of Westminster.

> Shee was a virtuous woman & feared God above many; living in the Court where shee had opportunity of enjoying worldly delights extraordinary shee was dead to them. Shee looked well to the ways of her household, pray'd with them daily, catechis'd her children & brought them duly to publique Ordinances, for which my self among the rest have cause to bless God, all the dayes of my life, & hope I shal doe it, for shee was to mee as Lois & Eunice were to Timothy, teaching mee the Scriptures from my Childhood, & if God should see it good, as much as lay in her devoting mee to the Ministry.

Of himself Philip writes:

> I was admitted to Westminster School in 1643, into the 4th Form, under Mr. Tho. Vincent, who was usher there, the most able diligent school-master I ever knew; a while after I was taken to the upper-school under Mr. Richard Busby. In March, '45, my dear Mother dy'd of Consumption. The October following, I was admitted King's Scholar first of the Election, by the means of the E. of Pembrook, who gave mee my name.

By permission, he attended in school hours the daily morning lecture at the Abbey, and, with his mother, heard at St. Margaret's "the best preachers in England before the then House of Commons."

Looking back upon those early days with a man's eyes, he thus reflects :—

> And, Lord, what a mercy was it, that at a time w^{n} the poor countryes were layd waste, w^{n} y^{e} noyse of drums & trumpets & y^{e} clattering of Armes was heard there, & the wayes to Sion mourn'd, that then my lot should bee where there was peace & quietness, where the voyce of y^{e} Turtle was heard, & there was great plenty of Gosp. Opportunityes.
>
> The usual severityes of the school I had but smal share of, while I was in it. Once being Monitor of the Chamber & being sent forth to seek one that play'd Truant (twas Nath. Bul, afterwards a Master of Paul's School) I found him out where hee had hid hims. & at his earnest request promis'd him, I would make excuse for him & say I could not find him, which I wickedly did; the next morning being examin'd by Mr. Busby, where hee was, & whether hee saw mee, hee sayd, yes, hee did, at which I wel remember, Mr. Busby turn'd his eye towards me & sayd *κάι συ τέκνον* ! & whipt mee, which was the only time I ever felt the weight of his hand, & I deserved it; Hee appointed mee also a Penitential copy of Latin verses, w^{ch} I made & brought him, and then hee gave me six pence & receiv'd mee again into his favour.
>
> At Easter, 1647, some weekes before the Election, according to the custom of the school, which was that all that were to stand to bee Chosen away to the University, were to receive the Sacram^{t}., I also among the rest did receive it at Margts. Westm^{r}. And the care my Master took, for several weekes

before, at stated times, in opening to us the nature of the Ordinance & telling us, what was to bee done in preparation for it, I hope, I shal never forget. . . .

Since then I have often my self taken like paynes with divers others upon that occasion & have seen the comfortable fruits and effects of it, both in my own children & strangers, to God bee glory!

In May that year, I was chosen to Oxford, with 4 others, John Busby, nephew to Mr. Busby, John Vincent, brother to Mr. Vincent, 2nd usher, John Carrick & George Annesley, son to the Viscount Valentia, Brother to him who was afterwards Earl of Anglesey & Lord Privy Seal. Of these I had the second place. . . .

March 24, 164⅞. I was admitted Student of Ch. Ch. by Dr. Henry Hammond, who was then Sub-Dean; Hee cal'd me his God-Brother, the Earl of Pembr. having been his God-father also, Prince Henry the other, who gave him his name. Hee was afterwards Bishop Elect of Worcester & dy'd in April 1660, just before the King came in.

The April following was the Visitation of the University. The Earl of Pembroke and several others thereunto appointed, came thither to visit. They remov'd several Heads of Houses and Canons of Ch. Ch., & amongst the rest the aforesayd Doctor Hammond. The Qu. propos'd to each person high & low in each Colledge, & to myself amongst the rest, having Benefit there, was this, Wil you submit to the Power of the Parliam^{t} in this present visitation? Some absolutely refus'd (as one of the same election with myself, newly admitted, whose subscription was, I John Carrick neither can nor wil submit to the power of the Parliam^{t} in the present visitation, I say, I cannot, I say I wil not, John Carrick. This provok'd, & hee was soon after turn'd out): others comply'd, others answer'd doubtfully, pleading youth & Ignorance in such matters. Mine was, I submit to the power of the Parliam^{t} in the present visitation, as far as I may, with a safe conscience and without perjury; My reason for the last clause was, upon the account of the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy given mee a little before at my Admission into the Colledge, & I think also at my Matriculation into the University, which giving of Oaths to meer children, such as I then was, I have ever since much dislik'd, because not likely to bee much taken as oaths should bee, with Judgment. This Answer satisfy'd, & I was continu'd in my place. Dr. Samuel Fel, the Dean, remov'd & Dr. Edw. Reynolds put in, also Dr. George Morley, & Dr. Rich. Gardiner, & Dr. Morris, & Dr. Sanderson, & Dr. Payn, besides Dr. Hammond, & one more, that were canons, turn'd out, only Dr. Wal spar'd: There were then put into their places Dr. Henry Wilkinson, Mr. Cornish, Mr. Langley, Mr. Rogers, Mr. Bulton [Butten], Dr. Mills, Mr. Pocock. Also great alterations among the students, & the like in other Colledges.

My thoughts of this, upon reflection since, have been, that milder ways might have done better, but the truth is, there were many of them y^{t} were of bitter spirits & their carriage did greatly exasperate, for they were in expectation of a sudden change, which came not of many years after, & besides there were many of the Parliam^{t}-Friends, who had children of other Relations ready for University-preferm^{t} which they had been kept out of by the Wars, Oxford having been from the beginning a Garrison for the King, & now by this meanes they were gratify'd. And yet I cannot but say, the termes propos'd were not hard, nothing requir'd but bare submission, especially if compar'd with those requir'd since of another nature, concerning which let God judge!

Amongst the Student-Masters remov'd, my Tutor Underwood was one, which was very ill for mee, for hee was an ingenuous Person, & a good Scholar, & I should have been very likely, through God's Blessing, to have profited under his Conduct, but upon his removal, I was put, by what meanes I know not, into the hands of one Mr. Wil: Finmore, who dy'd in the year 1686, Preb. of Chester, a Person able enough, but not willing to employ his abilityes for our good, that were committed to his charge. . . .

There were[1] two sorts of Persons, my contemporaryes, one was, those of the new stamp that came in by the Visitation, & they were divers of them pious youths, but of smal abilityes comparatively for learning. Those lay under a Prejudice with mee, & I had little fellowship w^th^ them. These others were those of the old spirit & way, that were for Bishops & Common-prayer, & ag^t^ the Parliam^t.^ & the Reformačon & these were the better scholars, but generally not the better men, & these for a while I had most kindness for, & struck in with them, & twas a snare to mee. . . . Twas the great mercy of God to mee that I was not quite lost and ruined by this meanes. . . .

At the latter end of the year 1648, I had leave given mee to go to London, to see my Father, & during my stay there at that time at Whitehall it was, that I saw the Beheading of King Charles the first; Hee went by our door on Foot each day that hee was carry'd by water to Westminster, for hee took barge at Garden-stayres where we liv'd, & once hee spake to my Father, & sayd, Art thou alive yet! On the day of his execution, which was Tuesday, Jan. 30, I stood amongst the crowd in the street before Whitehal gate, where the scaffold was erected, and saw what was done, but was not so near as to hear any thing. The Blow I saw given, & can truly say, with a sad heart; at the instant whereof, I remember wel, there was such a Grone by the Thousands then present, as I never heard before & desire I may never hear again. There was according to Order one Troop immediately marching fromwards Charing-Cross to Westm$^{r.}$ and another fromwards Westm$^{r.}$ to Charing-Cross, purposely to masker the People, and to disperse and scatter them, so that I had much adoe amongst the rest to escape home without hurt.

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[1] This paragraph is omitted by Canon Matthew Henry Lee. The Henrys wielded the pens of ready writers, and Philip especially often drew up more than one draft of the same event. This may have been omitted in the MSS. which M. H. Lee had before him; but it is in Matthew's Life of Philip, which M. H. Lee uses freely, on occasion.

Matthew writes of his father :—

He would upon all occasions signify his abhorrence of that unparallel'd action, which he look'd upon to be a great sin in those that did it, yet he saw not how it was a national sin, not y^e tenth man of y^e Kingdom consenting to it (as y^e King urged upon his trial), nor the sin of the long Parliament, the greatest part of which was at that time imprison'd and kept under a force, and scarce 27 of y^e 40 y^t were left to carry the name consenting to it, (w^{ch} the Commissioners for y^e trying of the King's Judges insisted upon against them) but that it was done by means of a prevailing party in the Army, who having left their calling to follow the wars, could not so easily leave the wars to return again to y^{ir} callings, and those were the men that did it.

At the Act 1653 he commenced Master of Arts, at which time his great Parts, notwithstanding his extraordinary modesty and humility, had made him so very remarkable that he was chosen out of all the

> Masters of y^{t} year to be *Junior of the Act*, as they call him, that is, to answer the Philosophy Questions *in Vesperiis*, which he did with very great applause, especially for the ingenious Orations he made upon that occasion.
>
> At the Act in . . 54 he was chosen *Magister Replicans*, and answer'd the Philosophy Questions *in Comitiis* with a like applause.
>
> I have heard a worthy Divine who was somewhat his Junior in y^{e} University and much admir'd his Academical performances, say, that afterwards in the Country he more admir'd that so accurate and polite an orator in the University should become so plain and profitable a preacher. Dr. Owen who was then Vice-Chancellor hath spoken with great commendation of this performance of Mr. Henry's to some in the y^{e} University afterwards, y^{t} never knew him otherwise than by report.

His repute as the favourite pupil of Dr. Busby was known to Dr. Johnson, who would have seen at Christ Church the portrait of the old schoolmaster, with young Henry at his side.

Philip was ever grateful for his early advantages :—

> I have heard him tell how much he surprized the doctor the first time he waited upon him after he was turned out by the Act of Uniformity : for when the doctor asked him "Prythee, Child, what made thee a nonconformist ?" "Truly Sir," saith Mr. Henry, "you made me one ; for you taught me those things that hindered me from conforming." So says Matthew, and in a marginal note of the original draft of his father's Biography has this further reference : "Upon his hearing of the Death of Dr. Busby in April . . 95 (after he had been near 58 years Schoolmaster

> of Westminst$^{r.}$ School) he thus writes: 'I believe I have as much reason to bless God for him, as any scholar that ever he had,' he having been so instrumental in beginning the good work in him. . . .
>
> "And in the visits he made afterwards to the University, he inserts in his book, as no doubt God did into His,—'a tear dropt over my University-sins.'"

Philip Henry began his connection with the more northern parts of the country by engaging in 1653 for half a year to teach Judge Puleston's sons, "some of whom were then ready for the University," and preach at Worthenbury on Sundays. "Wishing to be of service in the world," he accepted, but stipulated that, being but twenty-two years of age, he should only preach at one service. However, as supplies often failed, he preached twice, and found "as the day is, so shall the strength be." There was need of strength both inside and outside the Church, if it be true, as Matthew tells us, that "Worthenbury before Mr. Henry came to it was the most loose, profane place in all y^{e} country."

He was ordained a minister of the Gospel Sept. 16, 1657, with the laying on of hands of the Presbytery at Prees in Shropshire, and from first to last laboured at Worthenbury "in the word and doctrine" for about eight years.

By Act of Parliament a Presbyterian model had been established. The congregation, or inhabitants of parishes, were to elect elders, who, with the minister, had the direction of spiritual affairs. A number of neighbouring congregations would form a classis.

The Provincial Assembly would be the authority over a number of classes, whilst the National Assembly was to have authority over the whole kingdom.

London and Lancashire were the only possessors of a Provincial Assembly, and there was never a National or General Assembly. The classes, however, were common, though not all on the Parliamentary model. A quotation from the certificate given at Prees will be of interest :—

> Whereas Mr. Philip Henry of Worthenbury in the County of Flint, Master of Arts, hath addressed himself unto us, Authorized by an ordinance of both Houses of Parliament of the 29th of August, 1648, for the ordination of ministers, desiring to be ordained a Presbyter, for that he is chosen for the work of the ministry at Worthenbury in the County of Flint. . . . These may therefore testify to all whom it may concern that upon the 16th day of September, 1657, we have proceeded solemnly to set him apart for the office of a Presbyter, and work of the ministry of the gospel, by laying on of our hands with fasting and prayer. By virtue whereof we do declare him to be a lawful and sufficiently authorized minister of Jesus Christ. . . . [But see p. 263(4).]
>
> In witness whereof, we the Presbyters of the Fourth Class, in the County of Salop, commonly called Bradford-North Class, have hereunto set our hands, this 16th day of September, in the year of our Lord God 1657.
>
> THOMAS PORTER, Moderator for the time
> ANDREW PARSONS, Minister of Wem
> AYLMAR HAUGHTON, Minister of Prees
> JOHN MALDEN, Minister of Newport
> RICHARD STEEL, Minister of Hanmer.

The same Richard Steel did the same office for Matthew, the son, thirty years later.

In September of the next year Lady Puleston died, "the best friend he had on earth." In the same month, 1659, Judge Puleston followed her, and Philip Henry's "interest in the Emeral family was buried in his grave."

The family had been for the Parliament, and Philip had found in the lady a second spiritual mother, who approved of Puritan Conferences and Fasts. The Judge, however, did not lean towards these, but found compensations in the tutor and minister's good breeding and parts. The sons followed neither father nor mother ; and the following notes from Philip's diary will speak for themselves :—

> 1656, June. Great Breaches between Mr. Roger Puleston and his mother, Lord heale them ; for because thereof the Family shakes.
>
> July. Mr. John Puleston left the Colledge and came home to his friends. Our God season his heart with grace.[1]
>
> Sept. 16. R. P. assaulted mee in wrath, wherby

---

[1] "Feb. 8, 1661. Mr. P. made one of the Deputy-leiftenants of the County, sent to search my house for Arms not openly but slily by his brother E. but found none."

"June 24, 1663. This week dyed in Chester a servant to Giovanni, an Italian Mountebank, known by y^e^ name of his Apothecary, who received some blowes about 3 weekes since upon y^e^ stage in Wrexham, in a scuffle with Mr. Puleston of Emeral ('t was June 4, y^e^ day on which his eldest son Roger was born), since which hee hath been sick and is now dead." P. H. Diary.

my unruly passions being stir'd I strook againe and hurt his face, against the command of our lord Jesus, w^{ch} requires the turning of the other cheek, the occasion was, zeale for God, though in circumstances ill manag'd, Lord, lay no sin to either of o^{r} charge.

CHAPTER II

BROAD OAK AND NONCONFORMITY

IT was not all trouble for Philip Henry in the Vale of the Dee. Judge Puleston had built him a house, and one of his sisters came down to be his housekeeper. This was February, 1659. But by April 26, 1660, " Providence had provided him a help meet for him," in the daughter of Mr. Daniel Matthewes, of Bronnington, and, through his wife, of Broad Oak. Katherine "was the only daughter and heir." The courtship was sweet. Surely never quainter words were ever said than by "Mistress Katherin," when her friends opposed the engagement by declaring, " Mr. Henry is a gentleman, yes ; is a scholar, yes ; is an excellent preacher, yes ; but he is quite a stranger, and we don't even know where he comes from." "True," fell from Mistress Katherine, " but I know where he is going, and I should like to go with him." These were the harbingers of a happy wedded life. "They were never reconciled, because there happened never the slightest jar that needed reconciliation."

But, naturally, the father saw not with the same eyes. He had an ancestral estate, and his wife had brought him another. This aspiring young man had about enough to make both ends meet, and if he helped his sisters, or disposed of Tenths for Charity, hardly enough. Besides, he was not, and never would be, of the stuff of which landed proprietors are made. For had he not stuck to Worthenbury when he might have been Vicar of Wrexham, or the opulent possessor of a considerable living near London? A distinguished University preacher who sought neither collegiate nor ecclesiastical preferment might be a good man, but was below the ideals of the smaller gentry; whilst he who had occupied the pulpit of the Abbey at Westminster, and seemed content with the marshes of Worthenbury, was hopeless.

Yet who shall judge?

> 1658, Jan. 25. A motion was first made to Mrs. K. M. on my behalf. Shee desir'd time to consider.
>
> Feb. 8. Shee return'd answer shee would speak with mee hers.
>
> 15th. A book sent (Ambrose prima) and a time appointed.

A son was born to them at Worthenbury. Then, with the Restoration, Philip had no legal right to his place, for when the King "came into his own," so did former incumbents, and Dr. Bridgman stepped into the place of Mr. Robert Fogg as Rector of Bangor.

> 1661, Oct. 14. Dr. Br. was at Worthenb. Saw the house, gave mee fair words, but intends my removal to gratify Mr. Pu. malice & his own profit, now y^e Lord the God of the Spirits of all flesh get a man over the congregation.

For a while Philip attended the ministry of his successor in the curacy of Worthenbury; and did not accept certain permissions to preach at Bangor, lest he should draw off from Mr. Hilton a goodly portion of his congregation.

"Heavenly Henry" was alliterative, and yet not without warrant, when we consider how he had to sit under the high pulpit and listen to railing against "false doctrines and false teachers": but still would go.

The Michaelmas following "black Bartholomew Day" he left Worthenbury for good, and took up his abode at Broad Oak, where Matthew, affected before the time by the religious Act of Uniformity,[1] was hurried into the world in the early hours of October 18, 1662.

> Oct. 19. Mr. Holland preacht at the Chappel. He baptizd my son there, & I named him Matthew. Wee had no God-father, for what needed, but he signed him with the Cross,[2] which I could not help, ipse viderit.

---

[1] "At the latter end of this year he hath in his Diary this note: It is observed of many who have conformed of late, and fallen from what they formerly professed, that, since their so doing, from unblamable, orderly, pious men, they are become exceeding dissolute and profane. . . . What need have we every day to pray —Lord, *lead us not into temptation?*" Matthew's "Life" of his father, not quoted by M. H. Lee, in whom the Canon sometimes absorbs a portion of the historian.

[2] "His father desired Mr. Holland to omit the Sign of the Cross, but he said, *He durst not do it;* to which Mr. Henry reply'd, *Then, Sir, let it lie at your door.*" Tong's Life of Matthew Henry.

"Oaths are edged tools and not to be played with" said Philip, "who comforted himself in his Nonconformity, that as to matters

Broad Oak is inseparably linked with Philip Henry. There he lived the rest of his life, except for a portion of one year at Whitchurch, whither he was driven by an illegal enforcement of the iniquitous Five Mile Act, and where he lost his precocious eldest boy.

of *doubtful disputation* touching Church government, ceremonies, and the like he was *unsworn.* One passage I find in his papers, which confirmed him in this satisfaction; it is a letter from no less a clergyman than Dr. F[owler] of Whitchurch to one of his parishioners, who desired him to give way that his child might be baptized by another without the cross and godfathers, if he would not do it so himself; both which he refused: it was in the year 1672–3. 'For my part,' saith the Doctor, 'I freely confess my thoughts, that the strict urging of indifferent ceremonies hath done more harm than good; and, possibly, had all men been left to their liberty therein, there might have been much more unity, and not much less uniformity. But what power have I to dispense with myself, being now under the obligation of a law and an oath.' And he concludes, 'I am much grieved at the unhappy condition of myself, and other ministers, who must either lose their parishioners' love, if they do not comply with them, or else break their solemn obligations to please them.'

"This, he would say, was the mischief of impositions, which ever were, and ever will be, bones of contention. When he was at Worthenbury, though, in the Lord's Supper, he used the gesture of sitting himself, yet he administered it without scruple to some who chose rather to kneel; and he thought the ministers' hands should not, in such things, be tied up; but that *he ought in his place, though he suffered for it, to witness against the making of those things the indispensable terms of communion,* which Jesus Christ hath not made to be so. *Where the Spirit of the Lord,* and the Spirit of the Gospel, *is, there is liberty.*" M. H. Life of P. H.

"The Presbyterians" at the Savoy Conference of twelve Bishops and twelve Presbyterians to review the Book of Common Prayer "consented to give up the Assembly's Catechism for the Thirty-nine Articles somewhat altered, and they finished with the request that the cross, the ring, the surplice and kneeling at the Holy Communion should be left indifferent. The Church Commissioners replied, adding that they would even give up the ceremonies if

In his papers is a printed list :—

Born	Aug. 24, 1631.	Philip	Henry	Marry'd Apr. 26, 1660.
	Mar. 25, 1629.	Katharine		
Born	May 3, 1661.	John	Henry.	Died April 12, 1667.
	Oct. 18, 1662.	Mathew		
	Aug. 7, 1664.	Sarah		
	Dec. 7, 1665.	Katharine		
	July 23, 1667.	Eleanor		

with—

"*Nov.* 25, 1660, *Ann.*"

—in the father's neat, clear handwriting.

The little boy who had attended the Free School at Whitchurch, "being yet in Coates, w^ch^ had never been known there before," had found his way to the heart of his grandfather, who "made him sole executor of his will, and heir of his real estate, saying oft, I have a love for that Child." But Mr. Matthews died within three weeks of their removal to Whitchurch, on which

any shadow of objection could be brought forward on the score of their sinfulness and impropriety." M. H. Lee.

No Presbyterian would have called them 'indifferent,' if they had been considered 'sinful.' Philip Henry's spirit stands out as the truly Christian, in opposition to Dr. Fowler's, and the Church Commissioners'.

"1661. March 12. A stir intended about the Font. Ned ap Edw. churchwarden set on by Mr. P. would have it used as formerly. I have someth. to say Pro. & someth. Con. & doe rather incline to doe it there, if there bee no remedy, *that becoming all things to all in indifferent things*, I may gain some." P. H. Diary.

occasion John "was put into Breeches, being to put on mourning."

Of the family life Matthew has given a pleasant account:—

> He was ever carefull to have all his family present at family worship, and sometimes, living in the country, he had a great houshold, and he would have not only his children and domestick servants, but his workmen & day laborers, and all that were employ'd for him, if they were within call, to be present to joyn with him in that service—and many of his poor neighbors have had reason to bless God for the opportunities of that kind y^{ei} have had, yet when y^{ei} must be staid for long, he would sometimes say at a night, *better one away, than all sleepy*. . . .
>
> He brought up his children in the fear of God with a great deal of tenderness. . . . He taught them all to write himself, and was very industrious to teach y^{m} to spell well, and to write true English, w^{ch} he endeavor'd by setting them to write out of Books verbatim, and to be sure to write as twas in y^{e} Book so accustoming them to Orthography, and his care was not altogether in vain. . . . He also took a pleasure in familiar discourse with them, and in telling them plain and profitable storyes, especially those of his own time, what was done in his dayes, and in the times of old. Ps. 44. 1. . . .
>
> Such was his care, and such his endeavour in family Religion. . . .

Sarah was taught the Hebrew tongue when she was about six or seven years old, by an English Hebrew Grammar, which the father made on purpose for her; and she went so far in it as to be able readily to read and construe a Hebrew Psalm. This daughter, who thought Matthew "perhaps loved her best of all his sisters," bears witness in her Diary to the great care with which the parents shielded their children :—

> Secured by privacy, from so much as seeing the corruptions the world abounds with, for the first twenty years of my life I do not remember to have heard an oath, or to have seen a person drunk. But still, this was but negative religion,—the free grace of God, in infinite mercy, took early hold of me, and brought me to feel something of the powers of the world to come.

Philip drew up a short form of the baptismal covenant for the use of his children ; and there is a fac-simile[1] of this "severally written and subscribed, Oct. 20, 1686" :—

> I take God the Father to bee my chiefest good and highest end, I take God the Son to bee my Prince and Savior, I take God the Holy Ghost to bee my Sanctifyer, Teacher, Guide and Comforter, I take the Word of God to bee my rule in all my Actions, and the People of God to bee my People in all Conditions. And this I do deliberately, sincerely, freely and for ever.
>
> MATTHEW HENRY.

Katherine was a rare sensible woman ;[2] a loving wife and a fond mother; and no doubt scanned with all a mother's pride the following letter of her nine-year-old boy [1]—the first specimen we possess:—

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[1] It is amusing to note, concerning "Orthography," the variations in 'Chiefest' and 'Saviour.' The subscribers are Matthew, Sarah, Katharine, Eleanor, and Ann. Matthew, Katherine, and Eleanor wrote 'Chiefest,' Sarah and Ann 'Cheifest'; the two eldest prefer 'Savior,' the three others 'Saviour.'

[2] "Your Dear Mother hath no great joy in the thoughts of your Closing with them at Chester upon the termes propos'd, her reasons are weighty, & in other th. have many times sway'd

> Honoured Father,
>
> I was not a little glad of your safe arriving at your journeys end, which I heard by your Letter, you sent, Blessed bee the Lord for his mercyes to you, and to your Family in you, the Lord bee praised for his mercyes to you that hee hath kept you in all your wayes. But I was sorry to hear of the sickness of Cosin Darrack, which doubtlesse is a great affliction to his relations; And by this providence wee may see that sin is the worst of evils, for sicknesse came in with sin, and if Gods people did not sin Gods people should never bee sick, Christ is the cheif good, therefore let us love him, sin is the worst of evills therefore Let us hate that with a perfect hatred, All our freinds are well hereabouts, but the small-Pox is very breif hereabouts towards Wem, and Whickso, and william Sadler dyed of them, and Ebenezer and Thomas have them now, but I think as yet they are not yet com'n out, Blessed bee the Lord that hee doth preserve us of this Family from them, that hee keepes Sicknesse away from the midst of us.
>
> Honoured Father, ever day since you went, I have done my lesson, a side of Latine, two Latine verses and two verses in grac. Test. I hope I have done all well, and so I will continue till you come. All my sisters (Blessed bee God) are in good health, and present your duty to yourself, and service to all their Aunts, and my two little sisters desire you if you

with mee against my own, & it hath done wel, what they are in this matter you shall hear immediately from hersf." Letter to "Son Math." May 14, 1687.

[1] Williams's Life: and as commonly received.

> think good to buy them each of them a Bible, and if you please Let one have marginall notes for mee, and one of my little sisters shall have mine for such a one I desire. All the rest of the Family is well, and present their service to you, Longing to see you, w^{ch} will bee very welcome to all the Family and especially to him who is and will remain,
>
> Your dutifull son and obedient servant,
>
> MATTHEW-HENRY MATTHEWES.
>
> Pray pardon my scribbling.
>
> My duty to yourself and Service to all my Aunts. Pray when you come will you let us have the happiness to see my Aunt Ann wth you if possible.

The mother adds, in laboured school-girl hand—quite a contrast to the complete style of the son, whose "pardon for scribbling" is quite superfluous—

> tel sistar Ann her nefu would fain see her that he may recover his credit lost by his

There is no finish. The signature of the boy is just what his grandfather would have loved. It is the only "Matthewes" surname that appears. Matthew must have composed the letter himself if written in 1671, as Will Turner, the tutor-student, had gone up to Oxford earlier in the year.

In reality the boy was twelve, as is shown by a letter of June 19, 1675, written by Katherine to her "Dear Heart," in which she says:—

> this day Tho Mulocke is to be buryed and I fear died as he lived, thursday last Wil Sadlar died of the smal pox.

This letter, and one written to her husband Sept. 6, 1671, both directed to London, can boast no orthography save the writer's native efforts, but they are tender and sweet:—

> on Munday night just when your letter came we had six teams beside our one unlodeing Colse thay brought but smal lods the wais being foul thay came saf and that togethar with you lettar gave us dubble ocashon for thankfulnes . . .
>
> Tohamas Euan & his soone are daubing at John Mortons hous and I dout want a little of your oversight for you know that I undarstand little in thos things. Ever since you went I have laine over the cichin and the children about me. I am wel and satisfied and want nothing nor desire no thing of all that this world can aford but thyne one dear selfe wee had the newe curate at the chapel the last Lords day & exspect Mr. Green the next and I hope before a third you will let us know at leste when to looke for you, I have sent you a smal token the letter wil cost noe more for the carriage of it and I am sure youl smile when you see it. . . .

The earlier letter of 1671 runs:—

> My deare Husband, I receved your last yesturday in the morning and am grived to hear of your being ill and the more coming emediatly aftar the funarel of good Mr. richason he was buried on munday last at Whitchurc(h). Dr. Fowlar preacht upon that text daniel 12: 4: he gave him a very high Caractar for wisdom piety and peasablenes and much more to that purpos only sum reflections upon other desentars that make a great noise as empty vessels: very likly he hops to gaine a Prosalat of young Josua. . . .
>
> the children and famely are wel Blesed bee god and

> my selfe as wel as I can be whilst in feare that you are ill. I have given up all my intrest in you to my heavenly fathar and am laburing to be redy for evel tidings which if it be God knows how I shal bear it, if I should hear on thursday that you continu ill and fale to take Physigne I shal be like to send to take a plase in the Chestar coche to come to you as soone as I can (except you forbid) for although I know you are with good friends and shal want nothing and it may be the famely not well spare me, yet I shal not bee content to stay from you. . . .
>
> I am apt to think that the good Aire at Kensington and a little rest may doe you good, I shal exspet beetwixt hope and feare til tomorow night. . . .
>
> My Dear heart the lord be with you and send us a happy meeting so prayeth you faithful and loving wife,
>
> KATHARIN HENRY.
>
> Sept. 6, 1671.

Affection and Godliness reigned over that domestic hearth: both were starved in the impurities of court life and the meannesses of ecclesiastical government.

It is a pitiful story that is publicly unfolded. Calamy's "Abridgment of Mr. Baxter's History of his Life and Times" should be re-published, so that all may read—if only the other and under side of Nonconformist history.

A volume is required: we have only a portion of a small chapter; but it does not take many words to say that Nonconformity in the main was a deliberately manufactured article. Men may have their private opinion that National good has come forth from the Established tyranny; but the Church of England is notoriously branded with shame. Her record is the institutional counterpart of the particular Vicar of Bray. She was as unstable in principle as she was tenacious of possession, since, with her, possession was the nine points of principle. When in distress, to use a bishop's words, "she was well convinc'd of former errors, and if ever she got out of that Distress all those differences with the Dissenters would be certainly made up." But it is matter of most curious coincidence, that when distress was over, so was all conviction of error; and if the Dissenters asked for rights, then the affrighted mob arose in its religious wrath and cried "The Church in danger." Consistency was impressed upon Nonconformists as an eternal virtue, to keep them out of office: with Churchmen it could vary with the needs of the passing hour, so that they might keep in office. The one set were put into prison because they would not deny that if a King perform not his duty the people are absolved from theirs; the other, with some non-juror exceptions,[1] eagerly welcomed a new King because the late ejected had broken the "original contract" between King and People : and thus, by shelving principle, remained in possession. Such were the right reverend Fathers in God. Who can find fault if we prefer the unbeneficed Dissenter ? The Diary of Philip Henry fills us with pity for its pathos, but rightly compels our reverent admiration.

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[1] "Many persons *of our own coat*, for several years together preached up Passive Obedience to a much greater height than ever I did, and, on a sudden, without the least acknowledgment of their past error, preach'd and acted the quite contrary." Non-juror Bishop Ken to Bishop Burnet.—Dean Tillotson no doubt was one of the turn-coats. A personal friend of Lord Russell, he insisted that 'the law which establishes our religion declares that it is not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever to take up arms against authority; the law of Nature and the general rules of Scripture tie the hands of subjects, &c.' Yet Russell died rather than acknowledge the doctrine of Non-resistance; Ken lost his bishopric for holding to the doctrine; but Tillotson manages to effect a change of principle, and is transformed into an Archbishop. Of such changes are, and must be, Establishments of Religion. With unfailing regularity, principle coincides with preferment.

Here is a man under suspicion because he did not publicly thank God on the failure of the futile Royalist rising under Sir George Booth.

> He preached the Lecture at Chester soon after, just at the time when Mr. Cook,[1] an eminent minister in Chester, and several others were carried prisoners to London, for their agency in the late attempt ; and the city was threatened to have their charter taken away, &c.

His son also tells us—

> He was a hearty well-wisher to the return of the King . . . and was much affected with the mercy of it . . . He was very industrious to quiet the minds of some who were uneasy at that great revolution.

The reward was this—

> Soon after the return of the King he notes how industrious some were to remove him from Worthenbury.

Yet, many years after the King's return, he could date a letter

> May 29, Τῇ ἡμέρᾳ αὐτῇ τῇ γλυκυπίκρᾳ. *(That sweet-bitter day.)*

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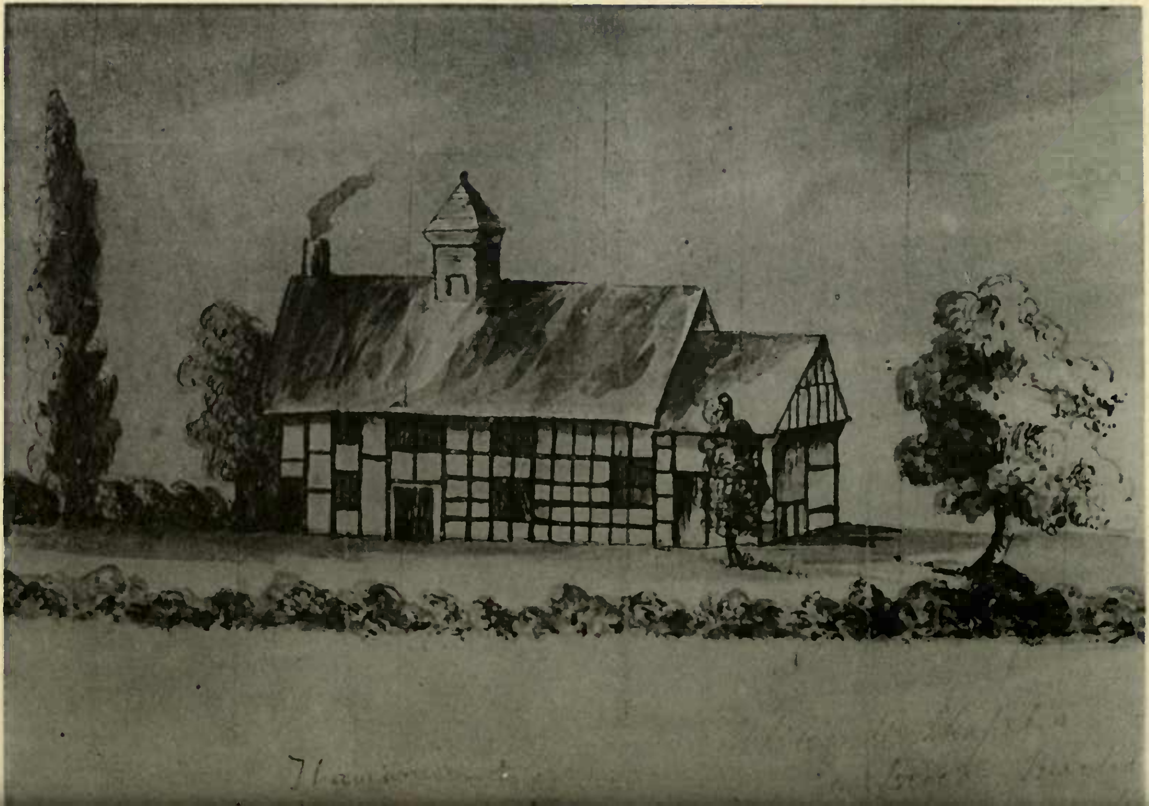
[1] Staunch Royalist as he was, Mr. Cook was ejected from St. Michael's in 1662.

In September, 1660, he was presented at Flint Assizes for not reading the Common Prayer, "though as yet it was not enjoined."

> 1661, Aug. 22. Mr. St. came to see us. Wee are in doubt what to doe in poynt of conformity, lord say unto us, this or that is the way, & wee will walk in it.
>
> 25. Common prayer tendered, God knowes how loth I am to goe off my station, but I must not sin agt. my conscience.
>
> 1662, Aug. 17. Mr. Steel of Hanmer was silenced and turned out for not declaring his unfeigned assent and consent to a book which he never saw nor could see.

The altered Prayer Book was so delayed in printing that only the London ministers could possibly see it for a day or two before the Act of Uniformity was to come into force. The National Church, which before and since has boasted its comprehensiveness, did not want the two thousand, who, whatever else they might lack, owned clear consciences. The Lord Chamberlain Manchester told the King, while the Act of Uniformity was under debate, he was afraid the terms were so hard that many of the ministers would not comply with them. Bishop Sheldon, being present, replied, "I am afraid they will."

This man, when Archbishop, on the renewal of the Act against Conventicles in the year 1670, writes to the several bishops of his Province, and has the effrontery to describe the Nonconformists as meeting in unlawful Assemblies, "*under Pretence of Religious Worship.*"



But before inciting the bishops to "implore the assistance of the Civil Magistrates, Justices, and others concerned," to enforce the Act "which contains so *much for our advantage*," he finds himself under the necessity of confessing that, within the Church, the legal Conformists were not only lax "in strictness and sobriety of life and conversation," which might perhaps have been overlooked, but that numbers of them used [1] the Common Prayer as they personally chose, did not perform all the ceremonies, nor don the surplice. That is to say, he had the grace to allow that a dead letter in the Church could not with decency be employed as a whip without it. But if not a decent whip, it proved an excellent ecclesiastical scorpion.

Meanwhile, Philip Henry and his family were regular worshippers at Whitewell Church, whenever there was any "supply." Of one aged minister it is

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[1] See for notable evidence, after 1680, "Life of Robert Frampton, Bishop of Gloucester." "At another place he preached upon a Sunday and read the prayers himself in a congregation of clothiers who have more school divinity than Tho. Aquinas, and after the evening service the churchwardens, in the name of the parish, were to offer him a glass of wine and thanks for his pains taken among them; and to request the favour of a sermon some other time, and that, when he would afford them the favour he would as a farther kindness to them, he would please *to use the same prayer*, with which they were mightily edify'd. Now that prayer was no other than the Litany; so long had such well-meaning men as many of them are, and of good understanding, been deprived of that excellent composition that they did not know it to be part of the Liturgy."

Of a certain minister it is narrated, "And as he never read the Liturgy orderly, so in fifty years that he hath been a parish priest hath he once used the Lord's prayer in the pulpit. Yet this irregular man found means to evade justice all the time of this recorded that on his deathbed he declared he was "well satisfied" with his Nonconformity, but that he should not have joined in the Liturgy had it not been for Mr. Henry.

Yet it was this mild citizen who was taken prisoner under pretence of being engaged in some plot against the Government, and then found his ministerial status flouted by being appointed Collector to the Royal Aid. Ever serene, he hoped, even in this, he might deserve the inscription "To an honest publican."

The spirit of the ejected was truly shown in the saying of Mr. Lawrence, of Baschurch, who "having eleven good arguments against suffering—viz. a wife and ten children," and being asked how he meant to maintain them all, cheerfully replied, they must all live on the sixth of Matthew, "Take no thought for your life," &c.

This is not a life of Philip Henry: and the remainder of the space available shall be given to his own comments on the Act of Uniformity and the persecution of the times.

> 1671. All acknowledge there is at this day a number of sober, peaceable men both ministers and others among dissenters. But who either doth or saith anything to oblige them? who desires or endeavours to open the door to let in such? Nay doe they not rather provoke them to run into the same extravagancyes with

---

good Bishop's administration, and hath since the revolution, which came to his rescue from condign punishment, been highly in the esteem of him who since hath fill'd the Chair, and is yet living, an impudent scandal to his order."

See also M. H. Diary, 1706 (p. 105); and P. H. (p. 263).

> others by making no difference, laying load on them as if they were as bad as the rest.
>
> 1672. Wee are put hereby to a Trilemma either to turn flat Independents or to strike in with y^e conformists, or to sit down in former silence & sufferings, till the Lord shall open a more effectual door.

Philip thought the allowance of separate places of worship might help to overthrow the parish order, "which God hath own'd." Not till after the Act of Toleration, May, 1689, was he "prevailed upon to preach at publick time every Lord's day." He was like unto the eminent minister in Lancashire, who did in like manner "alter his Practice about that time, and gave this for a Reason, That he had been for twenty seven years striving to please a Generation of Men who, after all would not be pleased ; & therefore, he would no longer endeavour it as he had done."

On a detached leaf of MS. of the year 1666, there is an account in Philip's handwriting of Dr. Bates and others taking the oath, and being complimented thereupon by Chief Justice Keeling, who said, "You have now renounct that abominable wicked covenant & I hope will never speak a word for it more, I hope others will come in by your example and that you will proceed further to conform."

Philip is perforce set to see how he stands :—

> I am as yet unsworn either on one side or t'other concerning the matter of Church-Governm^t. Quære, if it bee not best to keep myself so, though I suffer for it, lest in time it come to prove a snare as such like Oathes have done to others.

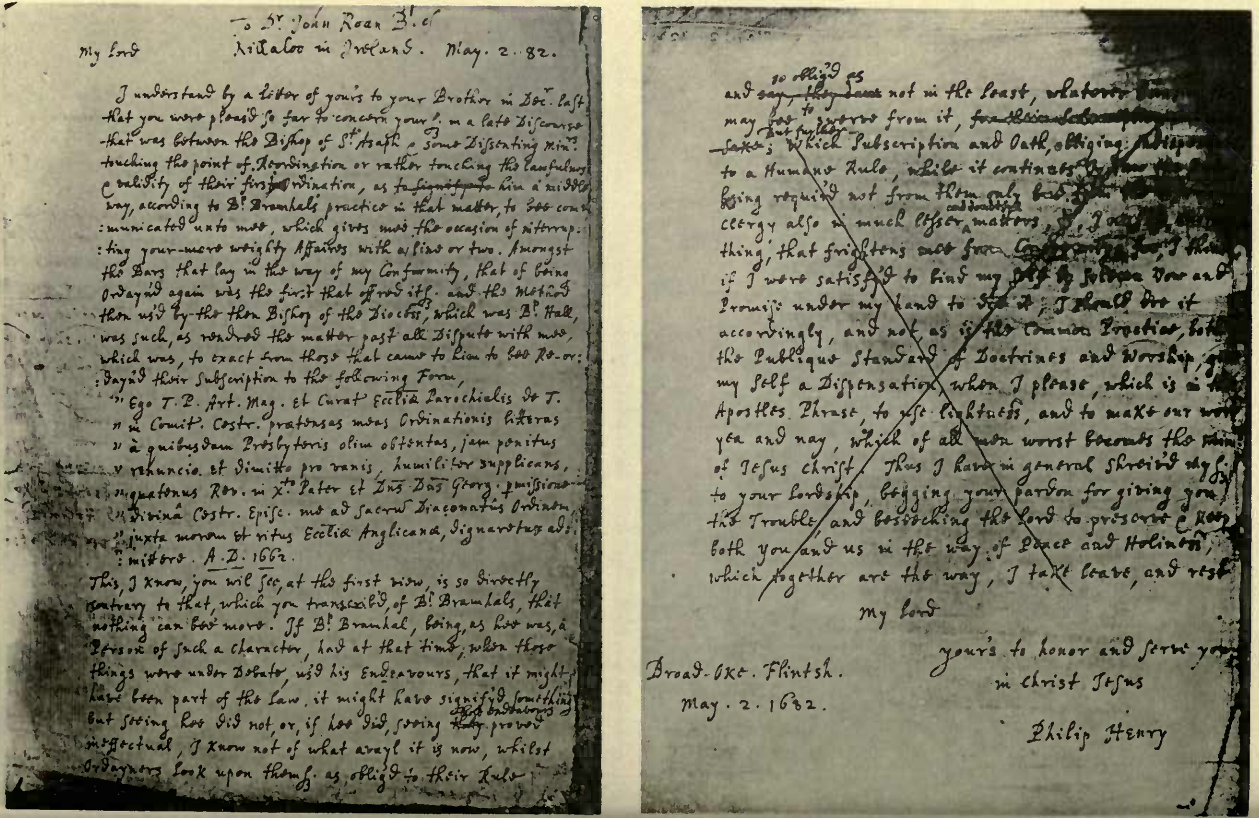
> Ministers are by X^{t} intrusted with the Governm$^{t.}$ of his church, as with other Ordinances.
>
> If Corruptions bee crept into the Mode of that Governm$^{t.}$ & those not only circa accidentia, but circa essentiam, Quære, if they bee not in a special manner bound, as Ministers in their place & calling, to endeavor the Reformation of those Corruptions, and whether to swear they will not, bee not to swear against their Duty.

He had read for himself the Oxford or Five Miles Act of 1665. The plain words were, that men were to swear they would not at any time endeavour any alteration in Church or State, otherwise the infamous penalties would fall upon them. He was not going to renounce his rights of citizenship : and every Englishman to-day agrees with him. The meaning of "endeavour" was plainly against "the praying, preaching, and pswading agt. Prelacy" in the Conventicles, and he would not drug his conscience by any sophistications.

We perceive the honourable beginnings of Matthew Henry's Chapel.

From a manuscript hitherto unpublished, headed "Concer. y^{e} taking away the Penal laws and Tests," we take the following :—

> Quære. Whether if Q. Mary at her coming to the Crown had made the like offer to B^{p} Cranmer, latimer, Hooper, Ridley y^{t} they would let the Qu. & those of her perswasion in Religion quietly enjoy their liberty to Worship God according to their Consciences without molestation by Penal lawes they should stil continue in their Sees as formerly in her Brother's time & their Clergy stil possess their Parish Churches with all the Profits & Emoluments thereof & also without



To Sr. John Roan Bt. &
My Lord Killaloo in Ireland. May. 2. 82.

I understand by a letter of your's to your Brother in Decr. last that you were pleas'd so far to concern yourself in a late Discourse that was between the Bishop of St. Asaph & some Dissenting Minrs. touching the point of Reordination or rather touching the lawfulness & validity of their first Ordination, as ~~to signify to~~ him a middle way, according to Bp. Bramhal's practice in that matter, to bee communicated unto mee, which gives mee the occasion of interrupting your more weighty Affairs with a line or two. Amongst the Bars that lay in the way of my Conformity, that of being Ordayn'd again was the first that offer'd itself and the Method then us'd by the then Bishop of the Diocess, which was Bp. Hall, was such, as rendred the matter past all Dispute with mee, which was, to exact from those that came to him to bee Re-ordayn'd their Subscription to the following Form,

"Ego T. P. Art. Mag. et Curat Ecclia Parochialis de T.
" in Comit. Costr. pratensas meas Ordinationis literas
" à quibusdam Presbyteris olim obtentas, jam penitus
" renuncio et dimitto pro vanis, humiliter supplicans,
" quatenus Rev. in Xto Pater et Dns Dns Georg. permissione
" divinâ Costr. Episc. me ad sacrum Diaconatus Ordinem
" juxta morem et ritus Ecclia Anglicanae, dignaretur ad:
: mittere. A.D. 1662.

This, I know, you wil see, at the first view, is so directly contrary to that, which you transcrib'd, of Bp. Bramhals, that nothing can bee more. If Bp. Bramhal, being, as hee was, a Person of such a character, had at that time, when these things were under Debate, us'd his Endeavours, that it might have been part of the law, it might have signify'd something but seeing hee did not, or, if hee did, seeing ~~they~~ these endeavours prov'd ineffectual, I know not of what avayl it is now, whilst Ordayners look upon themselves as oblig'd to their Rule and ~~say, they dare~~ so oblig'd as not in the least, whatever [illegible] may ~~bee~~ to swerve from it, ~~[illegible]~~ but [illegible] ~~Sake~~; which Subscription and Oath, obliging [illegible] to a Humane Rule, while it continues [illegible] being requir'd not from them only but [illegible] clergy also in much lesser and doubtful matters [illegible] thing, that frightens ~~mee~~ from Conformity [illegible] then if I were satisfy'd to bind my self by Solemn Vow and Promise under my hand to doe it, I should doe it accordingly, and not as is the Common Practice, both the Publique Standard of Doctrines and Worship, [illegible] my Self a Dispensation when I please, which is in the Apostles Phrase, to use lightness, and to make our word yea and nay, which of all men worst becomes the [illegible] of Jesus christ. Thus I have in general shriv'd my self to your Lordship, begging your pardon for giving you the Trouble, and beseeching the Lord to preserve [illegible] both you and us in the way of Peace and Holiness, which together are the way, I take leave, and rest

My Lord

yours to honor and serve you
in christ Jesus

Philip Henry

Broad-Oke. Flintsh.
May. 2. 1682.

any disturbance from her, read the Common-Prayer and Administer the Sacraments as before, they would not thankfully have accepted of the Proposal & without scruple have publisht the same if shee had requir'd it, to their congregations.

Q. Whether the Ministers of Cheshire who not long since publisht the Order of Sessions for Persecuting of all Dissenters according to the Penal Lawes,[1] which was done accordingly with great severity, ought not now in a special manner to testify their repentance for the same, by publishing the King's Declaration of Indulgence, the Authority requiring it being without question far the greater. They thought it no disparagement y^{n} to bee the Justices Drudges in doing evil to bind on heavy Burthens, and yet now think much to doe as the K. would have them in doing good to save their Neighbors of that intolerable yoke.

Quær. Whether there bee not two Churches of England, One built upon the Foundation of the Apostles & Prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the Cheif Corner Stone, & Another built upon the Foundation of Penal lawes and Statutes, the Act of Uniformity being the Cheif Corner Stone. The former holding & asserting all the great Truths of the Gospel contained in their Doctrinal Articles which are great and able to defend themselves according to the Scriptures, the other urging and insisting upon a parcel of unnecessary formes & ceremonyes contayned in their rubriques and canons which are weak & unable to defend themselves without the ayd & assistance of Fines & Imprisonments, and whether the former being of God shal not certainly stand & the later being of men shal not certainly fal.

Between the years 50 & 60 there was not one Penal law to back the Ministers that were then in Places, yet whatsoever some may think & say to the contrary, there are that know & wil aver it that the word of the Lord did run & was glorify'd.

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[1] See also M. H. Letters from London : in next Chapter.

There was no complaynt of any want of such lawes, the people were a willing people in the day of the Lord's power, those that were otherwise minded could not or would not comply with y^e way of worship that was then publique did enjoy their own Freedom in other separate Assemblyes & then they thought it wel that they might doe so, though since they have steer'd by other measures.

Al that was desir'd was, that the Magistrate would have interpos'd to prevent disturbance, that absurd men & unreasonable might not be suffer'd to come into the solemn Assemblyes & to call the Ministers Hirelings, Baal's Priests, dumb dogs & such like names of reproch which never came from the meek & lowly spirit of the blessed Jesus.

Wee often in all the letters to us meet with that expression, the Religion by law established, as if the Stablishm^t of it by law were the great thing that should commend it to us, & denominate it true Religion. For my part, I am far from judging so or making that my rule. There's another law which is not the law of the land, the law joyn'd with y^e Testimony Esa. 8. 20. to which I would goe for my Religion. Was the Religion of y^e Primitive Christians by law establisht, nay, were not all the lawes of the Empire against it?

Was the Religion of y^e poor men of lions by law establisht, or that of y^e lollards & Wicklevites at home?

What penal lawes or Tests in matters of Religion were there in Edw. 6ths time: was there one of those then extant that are now desir'd may bee repeal'd?

But what can wee think is meant by y^e Religion by law establisht? is it 1. the Doctrine of Religion? in that wee differ not, if any difference bee, tis as much or more between Church men & Churchmen, than between Dissenters & Churchmen. Ask Dr. H. hee'l tel you the Church of Engl. is in all the five Arminian poynts, of Arminius his way. Ask others, they'l say the contrary, now as to this, what penal lawes are there ? tis enacted, that all must read & subscribe, whether they teach accordingly or no, it is no matter—

or 2. the Worship,—Concerning that, the Dissenters say, there is nothing which they doe, which the Churchmen generally doe not doe. They read the Scriptures in the same Translation, sing David's Psalmes of the same composun & in the same Tunes, pray before sermon, like as many of them doe, without a Form, preach from Texts of their own chusing, and then pray again & pronounce y^e blessing.

Where's the difference then ? it lyes in this that more is by penal lawes commanded to bee done & there is need of them bee. Y^e things commaunded are humane Inventions, & as such fasten not upon y^e Conscience without such inforcement, a liturgy to bee read, from which no liberty to vary, divers ceremonyes to bee us'd, a white garment, saying after, bowing at y^e name of Jesus, and the like.

or 3. the Discipline, concerning which wee say wee reckon it not Religion but a Fence about Religion. Perhaps with some it may be the mayn matter, the Honor & power & wealth y^t is annex'd to the Management of it, wee fear is their Tempta. to think it so, and therein for the maintenance of it, there is need of penal lawes, & it can never be manag'd without them, because the way of the Administration of it, for its own sake, fastens not upon the Conscience. The weapons of our warfare are not carnal yet mighty. If any Brother walk disorderly, wee give notice to y^e Congregation to withdraw from him that hee may be

> asham'd, yet wee count him not as an enemy but admonish him as a Brother, further than this wee cannot goe, wee desire no writs to take their Bodyes & lay them in y^e Jayl & then when they dye cast their dead Bodyes into a Ditch, tis for such as these that Penal lawes are wanted.

In the appendix to Williams's Life is printed a document of which the original is before us. It would seem it was drawn up by Philip for the guidance of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners who were appointed by William III. in 1689, "for the reconciling as much as is possible of all Differences among our good Subjects, and to take away all occasion of the like for the Future."

Ten of the Commissioners were Bishops; and twenty other Dignitaries were added to them. It was proposed, among other things to be submitted to Convocation and by it to Parliament :—

> (*a*) To substitute canonical Scripture for certain Apocryphal Lessons.
>
> (*b*) That any Minister who had been ordained after the Presbyterian fashion need not be re-ordained, but was to have authority from the bishop to perform ministerial offices in the Church of England.
>
> (*c*) A clergyman might, generally, wear the surplice or not; the sign of the cross might be omitted in baptism. That godfathers were not obligatory ; that the Lord's Supper might be received sitting.

These resolutions were mainly consonant with Philip Henry's memorandum; but whether too late in the day for Dissenters or not, the "Church" party would not sacrifice Ritual for any other Good in the world.

Articles might go, but Ceremonies were to continue for ever.

> Soon after the Act of Indulgence (June [May] 1689), says his son, though he never in the least changed his Judgment as to the Lawfulness of joining in the Common-Prayer, but was still ready to do it occasionally; yet the Ministers being often uncertain in their coming . . . he was at last prevailed with to preach at publick time every Lord's Day. . . . He hath sometimes preached a Lecture, ridden eight or nine Miles, & preached another and the next Day two more.

The good man[1] worked himself out, and died June

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[1] Honor'd Sir,

I know you will bee glad to hear that through God's goodness to wee are all well, though I have little else to write. Our Publick Newes hath been good, the proceedings of y^e D. of Savoy encouraging, and wee hope all will bee well. 'Tis concluded to besiege Dunkirk, by sea and land, which doubtless is in order to something further. I have sent you the E. of Warrington's Charge I have formerly given you account of. *Magna loquimur sed.* I had a message from Madam Hunt last week to claim the performance of a cursory promise I made of spending a Sabbath with them, which I would willingly do if I could get some Supply here. I had then thoughts of Dr. Barnet, but hee's taken up as much as ever, and so unless you can provide any for mee, or Mr. Owen can come I must bee excus'd. I shal long to hear how you do, if you find travelling uneasy, you must resolve to set up your Staff at the Broad-Oke, and wee must all come to you, and bless God wee can have you there. Mine & my wife's Duty to yourself & Mother, begging your blessing I rest,

Y^{r} very dutiful son,

M. HENRY.

Sept. 5, '92.

[A charge delivered by Lord Warrington to the grand jury of Cheshire was not permitted to appear, because His Lordship had

24, 1696. He had ministered eight years, been silenced twenty-eight, and was again for seven, an active "Servant of the Lord."

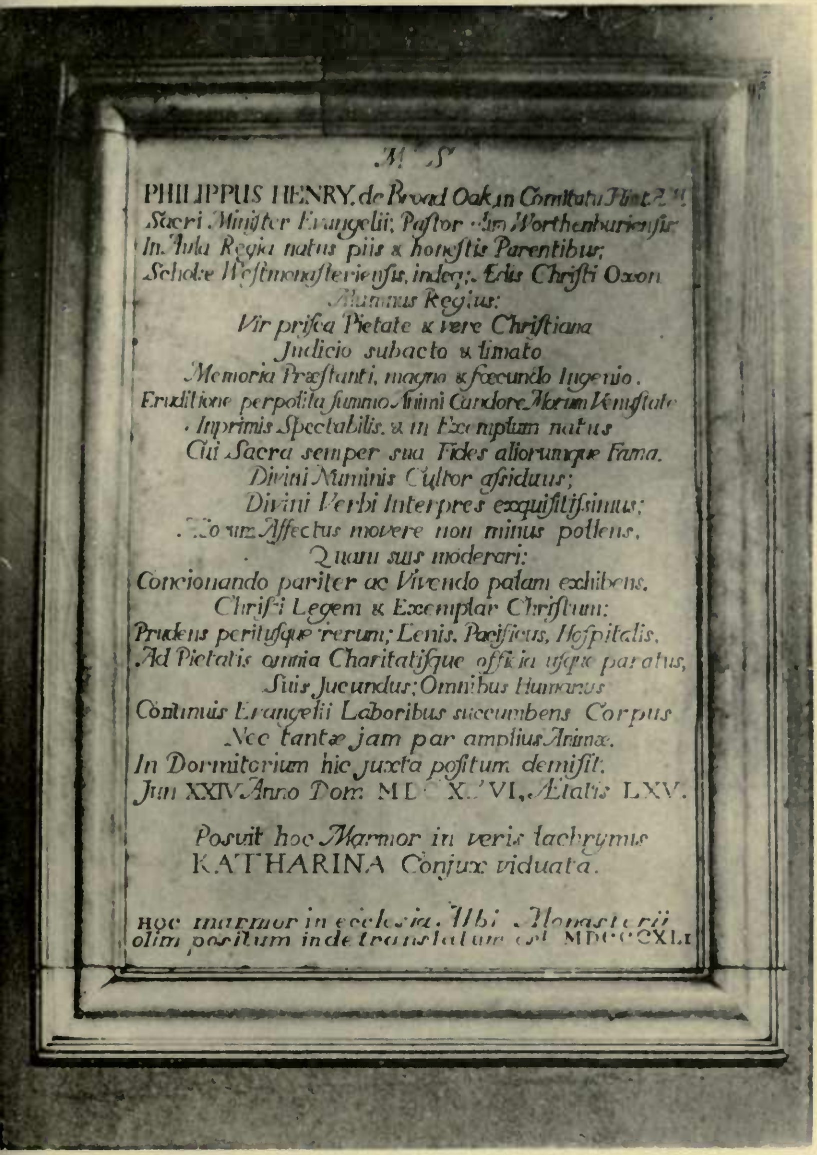
spoken contemptuously of divine right and passive obedience. Macaulay, History of England, Chap. xix.]

[Dr. Andrew Barnett was turn'd out of Churcholme in Cheshire for not taking the Ingagement against the King and House of Lords. But he was the publick Preacher at Roddington when he was silenc'd in '62. His sufferings afterwards were not so great as some others met with. His skill in Physick made him the more valu'd by the neighbouring Gentry. And yet one instance may be worth inserting. Being invited to Preach in private on a Lord's Day, a neighbouring Justice came upon him while he was only in Prayer, and Fin'd him for Preaching. He appeal'd to the Quarter-Sessions, and prov'd that he had not Preach'd. But the King's Attorney said that he must make a Construction of the matter, and that was, that the Defendant's Praying was Preaching. *Then,* said Mr. *Barnett, every Boy that says the Lord's Prayer is a Preacher. No, no,* says the Attorney, *but for you to pray is preaching.* Upon this he was Cast, and his Fine was doubled ; so that he pay'd above 40*l.* Calamy.

His brother Joshua was ejected from Rockardine in Salop ; but, being a Person of great Moderation, he after some time, accepted of a Place in Cheshire, where he was excus'd from the Surplice, Sign of the Cross, &c. Ibid.]

[Much MS. of P. H. is left unprinted. Room can just be found here for the following :—

"Oct. 28, 93. A Scotch Preacher, w^{n} made B$^{p.}$, being asked if he would preach next day, sayd, Yes, if he slept wel, else not. His wife standing by, reply'd, Ô : Jamy, Jamy, time was when thou wouldst have preacht, sleep or not sleep."]



M. S.

PHILIPPUS HENRY, de Broad Oak in Comitatu Flint. Arm.
Sacri Miniſter Evangelii; Paſtor olim Worthenburienſis:
In Aula Regia natus piis & honeſtis Parentibus;
Scholæ Weſtmonaſterienſis, indeq; Ædis Chriſti Oxon.
Alumnus Regius:
Vir priſca Pietate & vere Chriſtiana
Judicio ſubacto & limato
Memoria Præſtanti, magno & fœcundo Ingenio.
Eruditione perpolita, ſummo Animi Candore, Morum Venuſtate
Imprimis Spectabilis, & in Exemplum natus
Cui Sacra ſemper ſua Fides aliorumque Fama.
Divini Numinis Cultor aſſiduus;
Divini Verbi Interpres exquiſitiſſimus;
Aliorum Affectus movere non minus pollens,
Quam ſuos moderari:
Concionando pariter ac Vivendo palam exhibens.
Chriſti Legem & Exemplar Chriſtum:
Prudens perituſque rerum; Lenis, Pacificus, Hoſpitalis,
Ad Pietatis omnia Charitatiſque officia uſque paratus,
Suis Jucundus; Omnibus Humanus
Continuis Evangelii Laboribus ſuccumbens Corpus
Nec tantæ jam par amplius Animæ.
In Dormitorium hic juxta poſitum demiſit:
Jun XXIV. Anno Dom. MDCXCVI. Ætatis LXV.

Poſuit hoc Marmor in veris lachrymis
KATHARINA Conjux viduata.

hoc marmor in ecclesia. Ubi Monasterii
olim positum inde translatum est MDCCCXLI

CHAPTER III

LONDON

THE time had come for Matthew, now nearly eighteen, to study in London. His father dreaded the snares of the University in more senses than one, and much preferred the family and care of "that holy, faithful minister, Mr. Thomas Doolittle." It is most probable the matter of subscription was a chief consideration.

The journey up was safely accomplished, and Matthew writes to his sisters,[1] giving a brave account of his travels :—

> DEAR SISTERS,
>
> I came safe (through the good Providence of God) upon Friday last into London, and have reason to say, It is of the lords mercyes that I am not consumed, for hee holdeth my soul in life, and keepeth all my bones. And I'll tell you how wee came hither, for Roger saith, hee cannot remember the names of y^{e} places wee came through. Well then, on Munday wee baited at Newport, went to see Mr. Edwards,

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[1] Partly printed in Williams's Life, but with all the personal touches omitted.

and came through Tong to Wolverhampton y^t night about sun-sett. From thence wee set out next morning about six or 7 of clock, & came through Bromicham[1] to Henley (y^t was 20 miles from Wolverhampton) and there wee baited, and lay at Stratford upon Avon (y^t was but 5 miles from Henley). On Wednesday morning wee came from Stratford to Shipson, thence to long-Compton, thence to Enston where wee baited, and then came to Oxford between five & six. At Enston wee saw the wells, and really 't was a very strange sight. The water coming strait up through pipes (upon y^e turning of y^e cock) near 3 yards high. And there I was watred to some purpose, but all y^e rest escap't. At Oxford I saw y^e Judges come in (Sir Job for one) and next morning heard y^e Assize Sermon at St. Marye's, 't was preach't by one Mr. Lessy, a yong man, y^e text *Hos.* 4. 1. 2. On Thursday about 3 a clock wee set out from Oxford, and came 20 miles y^t night, *viz.*, to Wickam, and next day baited at Uxbridge, and came about 3 a clock to Chelsy, and found my Aunt Dyer not well, & my Aunt Sarah come to see her, wee staid there about an hour & y^n came for London, where wee came about six. But I never saw so many coaches. If I should say wee met above 100 after we came into y^e Town before wee came into our Inn I should speak within compass. On Saturday my Father went to Islington, and I went to Cosin Hotchkis's and Mr. Churche's—& Mr. Church came with us to see first, Bedlam, and then the Monum^t. The monum^t. is almost like a spire steeple set up in y^e place where the great fire began, and is much higher than any steeple, it is 345 steps high—and thence we had a sight of the whole city. Yesterday wee went to Mr. Doolittel's meeting place, his church,

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[1] Sir J. B. Williams prints "Birmingham," as though "Brummagem" were historically unfounded, or history were in need of remoulding.

I may call it, for I believe there's many a church y will not hold so many people, there are severall galleryes, and it is all pewed, and a brave Pulpit, a great height above y^{e} people—they began between 9 & 10 in y^{e} morn, & after y^{e} singing of a Psalm Mr. Doolittel first pray'd & then preach't & y^{t} was all—his text *Jer.* 17. 9. . . in y^{e} Afternoon my father preach't on *Lam.* 3. 22. at the same place, and indeed Mr. Lawrence told him at first, hee must not come to London to bee idle, and indeed they are resolv'd hee shall not for hee is to preach y^{e} two next Sabb. (I believe) at Mr. Steel's, & Mr. Lawrence's. On Sabbath day night about 5 a clock Cosin Rob & I went to another place & heard (I cannot say another sermon but) a peice of another, by a very young man, one Mr. Showers, and a most excellent sermon it was, about the evill of sin—the truth was wee could scarce get any room, it was so crowded.

Cosin Betty Benion came hither to us at our Inn on Saturday night bec. I did not see her in y^{e} morning at John Hotchkis's shop, and shee is very hearty and joviall, and likes London very much.

This morning wee went and first bought a couple of Trunks, putt all our things in y^{m}, and then went along wth y^{m} to Islington, where I saw y^{e} place wee are like to abide in, and do perceive that our rooms are likely to bee very strait and little. That Mr. Doolittel is very studious and diligent and that Mrs. Doolittel and her daughter are very fine and gallant. And now I am just come again to London from whence Islington is a good step, and am to go w^{h} my Father to Chelsy by water to night and to return either to morrow or next day.

Dear Sisters, I am almost ever thinking of you, and home, but dare scarce entertain a thought of returning home lest it discompose mee, but I find it a great change. I shall tell you more of my mind hereafter when I write next to each of you particularly. I cannot bee at leisure to see for any tokens for you, now, I am so buisy, and e'en almost like one in a maze but I'll think of y^m shortly—and mean time you must accept of my dearest love instead of all.

I pray give my dear love and service to Cosin Sarah & Hannah Eddow, to Mrs. Porter, and Mrs. Mary Billingham, to Mr. Lewis, & Sam Lawrence to all whom I intend to write particularly by my Father, when I hope to have more leasure then I have now. And good now do not forget to tell them, for I would have none of them think that London air hath such a bad quality as to make mee forget my Friends.

Pray, my service to Mrs. Figes when y^u see her, and love to Nelly Pain.—And my very humble service to Mr. Malden and Mrs. Malden.

Pray give my love and service to Mr. Tho. Hunt if hee bee not gone home, as I suppose hee is by this time. My love to Mr. John Thomas & Cosin Will and Cosin Ann—and my love to Nan Bowker, Sarah Probert, Tom Stockton and Charles—and all y^e rest of the neighbors.

Dear Sisters, pray now do not forget me neither in your thoughts, nor in your prayers, but remember mee in both. So commending you all to the care and protection of Almighty God, whose Kingdom ruleth over all, I rest

Your ever loving and affectionate brother,
MATH. HENRY.

London, at y^e Castle, near Aldersgate
Munday afternoon.
Jul. 18, 1680.

An attack of ague caused Sarah's 'first letter she ever had' from her father :—

By the Importunity of our Friends here—(Boreatton) we are prevayl'd with to stay til Munday, and send this Bearer to bring a letter from your Brother, if any come from him by this Post ; if it bee com'n already, write with it & hasten him away, if not, let some one else goe to Whitch. to see if there bee any, & let him stay the while. We are in hopes to hear, his Ague hath left him, or, however dealt more gently with him, but however the event bee his will be done, whose we are, and whom we serve. . . .

No more from
Your loving Father
P. H.

Aug. 19, . .80.

You may open the letter, if any bee, for your own satisfaction, how your Bro^r^. doth, & seal it again, or inclose it, but stay not y^e^ messenger longer than needes.

Remember y^e^ Sabb. w^n^ it comes, to keep it holy.

The letter came with good news. The ague had left him [1], though "hee remayned feeble and indispos'd." But the father and family had grave cause for anxiety a few days after.

In a letter dated Aug. 28, 1680, "For Cosin Robert Bosyer," (in which he declares his thankfulness that Robert is "so well pleas'd with his present circumstances of improvement," and says : "Your Concordance I forbear to send till I hear from you again, you may have Wickins for a little with Cos. Sam. Eddow, which phaps may bee better pro tempore ; Notes upon y^e^ Galatians, &c. I have none yet, else you should have them,") Philip 'has liked it well that the young student has been put upon the exercise of his gifts,' and counsels him: "Strive not to bee too large but concise, & close & substantial, wherein here you wanted an example."

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[1] P. H. Diary.

Reference is then made to a relapse in Matthew's case:—

> "The later p^{t} of your letter which was concerning Math. gave us some trouble, yet I thank you that you were so large & particular in it. Wee have freely yeilded him up & our interest in him, as well as we can, to our heavenly Father & his will bee done! I wrote to him to forbear Physique, till strength came to undergoe it; but that was upon supposition that the distemper was going, & strength coming: pray commend mee to Cosin Hotchkis, whose love & care I doe not question, and if other Advice bee needful, let it not bee wanting, but his constitution . . . weak, & not for much Physique, neither hath hee ever been us'd to it. I have written to him, as you wil see, if hee bee willing & able & there bee cause, with advice of Friends, to hasten home, & if hee must so leave you 'twil bee an Instance that man Purposes but God disposes."

It happened that the other was taken and he was left. Cosin Bosier "yeilded to his distemper," so Philip heard on Sept. 9, and he notes the next day:—

> "Y^{e} Disease prevayl'd and all meanes were ineffectual. At y^{e} same time divers others sickned in y^{e} house. Divers fell asleep in Isl. & London—y^{e} weeke's bill about 800. About 12 at night hee finisht his course, a hopeful yong man, serious & religious.
>
> 14. Hee was bury'd in y^{e} new church yard near y^{e} Artillery ground. And now my dear child his Alter

> Idem is left in widowhood and besides, not well, when wee heard y^{e} tidings which was at y^{e} time of morning Family worship, it caus'd a wett prayer amongst us.
>
> 25. Our dear child return'd again to Br. O. by Chester Coach, wee were in care concerning him, lest hee should not bee able to pform y^{e} journey & fain would but could not cast all our care upon y^{e} lord, nevertheless hee had mercy for his own name sake. Thus in a short time was y^{e} lord pleas'd to ruffle and overturn what wee had long purpos'd & design'd hoping it might have been for good, but hee gives not account of any of his matters."

Mr. Tong and Sir J. B. Williams in their Lives seem to be unaware of this observation, and think it probable that Matthew stayed at Mr. Doolittle's till perhaps 1682. But the father's would appear to be a final statement, the stronger because it shattered the loving hopes of many a year. Moreover the twenty-eight pupils, most of whom were down with the "Malignant Fever," had scarce time to recover "before the iniquity of the times, that is the malignant spirit of intolerance," first drove their principal to Battersea, and then compelled him to disperse his pupils into private families at Clapham. Further, in the Diary, June 7, 1681 :—

> Henry James cut his own throat at Hanmer having purloynd 20$^{s.}$ of his M^{r}. a Butcher in Salop & being pursued & taken & his M^{r}. saying to him hee would hang him if hee could hee did it with a rasor.
>
> 9. My son Math. was with him & pray'd with him,
>
> And Jan. 16, 168½. I went to Chester, my son Matthew wth mee, though some danger by reason of

> wind & water, at the invitation of Bp. W. Lloyd[1] of St. Asaph, with wm I discoursed in his chamber several hours concer. many th. in difference, but after all am not pswaded to be reordayn'd & to conform. The Minrs. in Chester are at present restrayn'd from meeting so pubiquely as heretofore, the Bp. Dr. Peirson moderate, also ye Mayor & Recorder, Mainwaring & Williams, but——"

Still, whatever the length of Matthew's first sojourn in the Metropolis, we are glad to have the opinion of one of his fellow-students, who thus wrote to Mr. Tong, after his death :—

> "I was never better pleas'd while he was at Mr. Doolittle's, than when I was in young Mr. Henry's Company; he had such a Savour of Religion always upon his Spirit, was of such a chearful Temper, so diffusive of all knowledge, so ready in the Scripture, so pat in all his Petitions in every Emergency, so full and clear in all his Performances, abating that at first he had almost an unimaginable Quickness of speech,

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[1] One of the seven bishops sent to the Tower in 1688 by James II. On the way to Chester, we can imagine Philip describing the scene twenty years before, of which his son thus writes : He hath noted, that being at Chester, in discourse with the Dean and Chancellor and others, about this time, the great argument they used with him to persuade him to conform was, that, else he would lose his preferment ; "And what," said they, "you are a young man, and are you wiser than the King and Bishops ?" But this is his reflection upon it afterwards : God grant that I may never be left to consult with flesh and blood in such matters !

Sept. 27, 1681. Philip has this Entry :—I went to Osw[estry] where discourse was had with Bp. Lloyd & Mr. Dodwel by Mr. Jonathan Roberts, Mr. James Owen, & mysf. concer. our Ordination by Presbyters, without a Diocesan Bp., which wee endeavoured to justify. It continued from betw. 2. & 3. til 7. & 8. at night in ye Town Hall. Wn I disir'd to bee excus'd from concer.

> which afterwards he corrected, as well for his own sake, as for the benefit of others. He was to me a most desirable Friend, and I love Heaven the better since he went thither."
>
> "I am sure it was the common opinion" said another "that he was as sweet temper'd, courteous and obliging a Gentleman as could come into an House; his going from us was universally lamented."

The testimony of a friend to his being 'pat in all his Petitions,' coincides with head 19 of the 'Memorial of Mercies' which Matthew drew up, according to the wont of the times, on his twentieth birthday.

He makes this thankful acknowledgment:—

> 19. That I have been endued with a good measure of Praying Gifts, being enabled to express my Mind to God in Prayer, in Words of my own, not only alone, but as the Mouth of others.

mys^{r}. at that time & in those circumstances, being of another Diocess, hee sayd, it was the common cause of Religion & I must concern mys^{r}.

On the Thursday following I receiv'd a letter from him to desire mee to meet him at Wr[exham] on Friday, which I did, where discourse past to the same purpose, but hee no better satisfyed with my Arguings than I with his. Hee say'd hee did not look on me as *σχισματικὸς* but only as *παρασυνὰγωγος*. And that if I were in his Diocess, hee did not question, but hee should find out some way to make mee useful.

The point of 'at that time and in those circumstances' is evident from entry Sept. 19. Began Flint Assize: Y^{e} Grand Jury presented . . . mee for Keeping a Conventicle at my house & for saying the law ag^{t}. conventicles was not to be obey'd & that there is never a word of God, &c. in it. If all this was done without malice (accord. as the oath taken expresses) let God, who knowes pfectly for hee searches the heart, bee judge!

The Act of Uniformity was not totally unconnected with the need of the sixth of these mercies :—

> "That at the Time appointed I was brought forth into the World, the living Child of a living Mother; and that though Means were wanting, yet he that can work without Means was not."

It would appear from the eighth and ninth that he had forgotten the Malignant Fever at Islington, or that all the epidemics round about Broad Oak since then he had escaped.

> 8. That I have had a very great measure of Health, (the Sweetness of all temporal Mercies) and that when infectious Diseases have been abroad, I have hitherto been preserved from them.
>
> 9. That when I have been visited with Sickness it hath been in measure, and Health hath been restored to me, when a Brother dear, and Companion as dear, hath been taken away at the same time, and by the same Sickness.

He also is grateful :—

> 12. That I was born to a Competency of Estate[1] in the World, so that (as long as God pleases to continue it) I am likely to be on the giving, and not on the receiving Hand.

Of his belief in the way that is called Calvinistic we thus read :—

> 22. That I have good Hopes, through Grace, that being Chosen of God from Eternity, I was in the fullness of Time called, and that good Work begun in me, which I trust God will perform.

---

[1] He came into the Bronington Estate about the time of his majority.

We may well conceive in the light of his father's Westminster and Oxford career, and his own intense studious habits, that the following is well within the mark :—

> 14. That I have had a liberal Education, having a Capacity for, and been bred up to the Knowledge of the Languages, Arts and Sciences ; and that through God's Blessing on my Studies, I have made some Progress therein.

Idleness was consistent neither with the Broad Oak atmosphere, nor with the mind of the young student; but of the course or direction of his reading we have no clue for the next three years.

His father has in his diary under date June 10, 1682 :—

> "I went with Math. tow. Prestw. in Staff. near Sturb. lodged at Hales at Mr. Woodh. Dropt a handful of seed Pro. 14. 9. Lord bless.
>
> 11. To Prestw. safe and wel, to God bee glory."

They were away four days. On the 9th of September was the excitement of the

> "D. of Monmouth passing through Nantwich towards Chester, some applauding others vilifying. Studia in contraria vulgus."
>
> "Sept. 15. Winning the race at Wallisee & being Godf. to y^{e} Maior of Chester's child Mr. Mainwaring, hee gave it y^{e} plate won, valu'd to 65. Pound.
>
> 28. Assize week in Chester—strict inquiries after y^{os} y^{t} shew'd Kindness to y^{e} D. of M. their names to be return'd to the Council, hims^{f}. sent for by a Pursevant & Committed, as is reported, but out again upon Bayl."

The entries in Philip's Diary of date Nov. 4th and 30th augured ill for the comfort of any budding Nonconformist minister :—

> Reports from London of more trouble to the Min^{rs}. upon y^{e} 5. Mile Act. Several in prison, several flying.
>
> " Orders publisht in Churches in Cheshire to present all that come not to Church & to the Sacr^{t}. if above 16.
>
> March 24, 1683. Min^{rs}. presented at Salop Assize by y^{e} Grand Jury, as also in other places.
>
> April 4. Wrexham Assize this week, where many presented for not coming to Church & Sacram^{t}.
>
> 15. Wee heard, my wife & I & many more are presented at Flint Assize for not coming to the Sacram^{t}."

In 1685 a step was taken by the Broad Oak family that 'was the talk and wonder of their friends.' Mr. Matthew Henry was entered at Gray's Inn as student-at-law. Friends and relatives were astonished, and forebodingly inquired whether the worthy son of a worthy father was to prove backslider from the pastoral office to which his personal abilities and home-training had so clearly destined him. No reason was assigned. The father in a letter to Gray's Inn contents himself with saying, " It is the talk and wonder of many of our friends what we mean by this sudden change of your course and way : but I hope, through God's goodness and mercy, they will shortly see it was for good." The Biographers, as in duty bound, have endeavoured to unveil the secret motive. Yet it seems pretty plain. Four years had gone by with no definite course taken : Matthew was getting on for twenty-three ; something had better be doing.

The times did not allow unhindered ministerial training, but law in any case was open—and, shall we add, safe, whatever might betide in the Dissenting sphere.[1]

The wonder, however, did not readily abate, for as late in the year as Nov. 17 Matthew tells his father he has been to see Mr. Baxter,

> "and I was very glad to find that he so much approv'd of my present circumstances. He said he knew not why young men might not improve as well as by travelling abroad."

We are not able to give more information of the student's first term than is afforded in Tong, Williams, and the Diaries (M. H. Lee). But, when we note that Sir Henry Ashurst, a friend of the Broad Oak family, fee'd Counsel for Mr. Baxter's defence before Judge Jeffries and personally led the aged champion through the crowd, and convey'd him away in his own coach, we may conclude Matthew would hardly require his father's injunction written on the very day of the trial, May 30th, 'to acquaint himself with persons, and places and affairs,' but would eagerly strive to attend 'in the afternoon at the Guild-Hall.'[2]

Philip had scented danger in the matter of Monmouth. Writing on June 20th to his son in London:—

> "Wee did not go to Rhuabon on Wednesd. in regard to the discomposures that were in the Neigh-

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[1] In 1685, persecution reached its height. Philip was a shrewd observer. John Howe writes from the Continent to his Congregation how his health had suffered from not being able to walk London streets in the daytime. See p. 71 n.[2].

[2] Calamy's Life of Mr. Richard Baxter.

> borhood, which are now allay'd, upon occasion of the D. of M^{s} invasion & the proclayming of him Trayt^{r}. which the Post before brought tidings of; I keep home, hear little, & say less; 'Tis our unhappiness, to bee suspected p.sons[1] without cause, & to be expos'd accordingly, though quiet in the land."

Keeping at home, hearing little and saying less, did not prevent the old cavalier from being bustled into Chester gaol. Matthew, who was down from Gray's Inn, writes from Willington Cross :—

> "I am very sorry I cannot come to see you, indeed many of my friends are against it and therefore I submit, hoping and praying & waiting for a comfortable meeting in God's due time, and yet am apt to think I could come without danger."

On the morrow Philip addresses his "Dear Heart," and says

> "Send love to Matth. . . . I would gladly see him, but when or how I know not, I think there's little danger of any harm to him here, if there bee none at home, at his return."

For three weeks he was a close prisoner, and we can well believe it was a glad sermon he preached to his family the day after he came home,[2] and 'how largely and affectionately' he would 'recount the mercies of Providence.'

Matthew set out for London again towards the end of October. Each week, we are told, he wrote home twice. It is very probable that, distinct from the second private letter, he forwarded a budget of the week's stirring events. Good ground for this surmise lies in the fact that on Nov. 17 he gives an account of his visit to Mr. Baxter, tells his father he had an hour's talk with him in a private house near the prison in Southwark, and that Baxter would not receive gifts 'from one who was outed as well as himself.' This most interesting letter contains no reference to public affairs : yet on the same date we have, in the valuable MSS. before us, a copy of a veritable News letter transmitted by him to Broad Oak.

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[1] "There are more wil have to say to you, as an Inns-of-Court Gentleman, than either as an N.C.M. or the son of one." Feb. 18, ..8$\frac{6}{7}$.

[2] An Original Draft of MS. of his Life, by his son.

Such weekly accounts of things as they passed under his notice have never been published, and, as personal testimony in an exciting and crowded period, have a value of their own. In addition they help us in our endeavour to picture and appreciate Matthew and his times.

These summaries of "remarkable occurrences," in Mr. Tong's words, "he did with great Judgment and Exactness, and yet with all the caution the Difficulties of those Times required." His father ends a letter dated Nov. 13 with this significant sentence. "Your letter escaped opening, write, but bee cautious what & how."

When they did arrive they were considered worth copying into a booklet.

The first two entries are from letters written on his way up, and are in his father's handwriting. The third was begun by his father "Nov. 10, from London."

Then a sister takes up the pleasant task. Altogether they occupy twelve pages of MS.

> Oct. 27, 1685. At Malmsbury I saw noth. worth observation, but the tomb of K. Athelstan, Saxon King.
>
> Nov. 3, from Oxon. There was offence lately given to the University by a Sermon preacht at S^{t}. Mary's pswading to a Reconciliation with Rome, the preacher was cal'd coram nobis for it & made to recant solemnly in the Convocation, many desir'd it might have been in S^{t}. Maryes, tis sayd, hee hath since got a good living.
>
> Mr. Walker, M^{r}. of Univ. Coll. hath also given great offence by a Book lately printed, in w^{ch}. hee vents some Popish notions about Transubst. and esp. about the immaculate conception, hee brought the Book to the B^{p}. to bee licens'd, who expung'd all such passages & hee, which reflects mightily on the B^{p}., printed the Book at the B^{ps}. Press & put in those expung'd passages. The censure of the University is expected to bee severe. Some think no less than Expulsion, but hee is here at London—under Protection.
>
> Sir Lionel Jenkins was some weeks agoe sumptuously bury'd at Jesus Coll. to which hee hath bequeathed in lands & money (they say) to the value of 16,000.
>
> Nov. 10, from London. Mr. Hamden[1] is a close Prisoner in the Tower, many expect the worst concerning him. I doubt not but you have had an account of the execution of (y^{e} quondam Sheriff) Mr. Cornish,[2] on Friday Oct. 23, by Guild-hall where his head is now set up & his Quarters on the citty

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[1] A Grandson of the great Hampden: accused of having taken part in the Rye House Plot.

[2] The Judges were as infamous as they were slavish.

Gates. Hee was upon y^e exchange but the Tuseday sennight before, not suspecting any such matter. I do not understand that hee dy'd for any hand in the late rebellion[1] but for Russel's Plot,[2] hee solemnly Protested his own innocency to the last,[3] and died like a Christian. Friday Oct. 30 Ayliff[4] was executed at Temple Barr and Nelthrop[5] before Grayes Inn Gate: Mr. Sp yonger son (the elder who was indeed concerned in the rebellion, being fled) was lately executed after a repreive & great hopes of a Pardon. The Tryal and execution of several others is expected shortly. Tis said that the Bishop of London[6] is turned out of the Council. I was very glad to understand that last Thursday *Nov.* 5 the London Ministers Preacht so much against Popery as Dr. Sherlock, Dr. Hesket Dean of Winsor, the B^{p}. of Ely at Whitehal Chappel, Dr. Pelling, Fowler Clegate, &c. And the like I hear was at Oxford the University Sermon by Mr. Sharks of Ch. Ch. on Psal. 94, 20, 21, 22. I heard Dr. Stillingfleets Lecture(r) on Exod. 15, 9, 10. Bonefires were Prohibited here An order of King & council being Published that no Bonefires should bee made at anytime without the King's express order. But if wee may have good fires in the chimny & none in Smithfield wee shall doe Pretty well. There came out lately a Pernicious Book called Popery represented & misrepresented. Dr. Sherlock reflected mightily upon it in his sermon, and said what enemies they were to the Church of England that indeavored to abate the Peoples hatred of Popery, tis said he has undertaken to answer it.

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[1] Argyle and Monmouth's.

[2] "1683. 28 June. After the Popish Plot there was now a new, and (as they call'd it) a Protestant Plot (the Rye House Plot) discover'd, that certaine Lords and others should designe the assassination of the King (Charles II.) and the Duke (afterwards James II.) as they were to come from Newmarket, with a general rising of the Nation, and especialy of the City of London, disaffected to the present Government; upon which were committed to the Tower the Lord Russell, eldest sone of the Earle of Bedford, the Earle of Essex, Mr. Algernon Sydney son to the old Earle of Leicester, Mr. Trenchard, Hampden, Lord Howard of Escrick, and others. A proclamation was issued against my Lord Grey, the Duke of Monmouth . . .

The Lords Essex and Russell were much deplor'd, few believing they had any evil intention against the King or the Church; some thought they were cunningly drawn in by their enemies for not approving some late councils and management relating to France, to Popery, to the persecution of the Dissenters, &c. . . ." Evelyn, Diary.

[3] As did Lord Russell.

[4] Ayloffe had accompanied Argyle.

[5] Nelthorpe accompanied Monmouth's expedition; and, after Sedgemoor, was found in a chimney at the Lady Alice Lisle's house, who herself was beheaded, to the eternal disgrace of Jeffreys and James. Jeffreys was made Lord Chancellor for what James 'facetiously called his Lord Chief Justice's campaign in the West.'

[6] Compton: tutor to the Princesses Mary and Ann.

Yesterday the Parliament mett, the King made a speech to them, in which after some Reflections on the late Rebellion hee observes what little service the militia did him, & consequently the necessity of having a *good force of well Disciplin'd Troops in constant Pay. The honor which the nation lost by having layn open to this late wretched attempt* (*hee saith*) *is not to be repaired without keeping such a body of men on foot that none may ever have the thought agen of finding us so miserably unprovided. For the support of this great charge, now more than double to what it was, a supply answerable to the expence is desired & counted upon. Hee would have none take exceptions that there are some officers in the Army not qualified according to the late Test for their employment.*

The gentlemen, sth. hee, are most of them well known to mee, and having formerly served with mee on several occasions and alwayes approved the Loyalty of their

Principles by their Practises, I think them fit now to be employed under mee and will deal plainly with you, that, after having had the benefit of their service in such time of need and danger, I will neither expose them to disgrace nor myself to the want of them, if there should bee another rebellion to make them necessary to mee. And so comes off with a large complem^{t}. y^{t}. seing for the moneths past there had bin such good effects of the happy agreem^{t}. y^{t}. was among them, hee hoped there would bee no division, nor so much as any coldness betwixt them, though some wicked People might desire it.

The Commons fell presently to debate about it, Godolphin earl of Middleton is said to move that they presently consider about complying with the King in taking away the Test. One Jennings oppos'd it saying it was a matter of great consequence—as Great Perhaps as ever came within those walls, and therefore 'twas fit some time should bee taken to consider of it, which was seconded by S^{r}. Tho. Clarges & so they put it to the Vote & adjourn'd till Thursday. The Lords sit, & 'tis reported that this day they have bin debating about a Petition w^{ch}. y^{e} L^{d}. Delamere[1] Presented that hee might either bee discharged or tryed, the majority of the Lords favored the Petition.

This morning was the first time I went to Westmin. Hall—There was little done, only I had a sight of the Judges[2] my Lord Chancellor on the Bench & S^{r}. John

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[1] Son of Sir George Booth who, after the Restoration, was made Baron of Delamere. The 2nd Lord Delamere was accused of taking part in Monmouth's Rebellion. With his acquittal "the reign of terror was over." He became Earl of Warrington.

[2] Jeffreys would be of special personal interest to the young law-student, who thus writes in his Life of his father: "Soon after this (1682), was the Assizes for Flintshire, held at Mold, where Sir George Jeffries, afterwards Lord Chancellor, then Justice of Chester, sat Judge. He did not, in private conversation, seem to applaud what was done in this matter . . . but, it was said, pleasantly

> Trevor sitting by him as M^{r}. of the Rolls, the new L^{d}. Ch. Just. Herbert carryes himself exceeding well, for ought I hear hee is one of the Privy Council. In Walcot's Place is S^{r}. Rob. Wright that was one of the Barons of the Exchequer, & in his place one Nevil. The B^{p}. of Bristol is removed to Chichester, in the room of Carleton, & S^{r}. Jonathan Trelawny is made Bishop of Bristol : Serg^{t}. Lutwitch Ch. Just. of Chester. Promotion comes neither from the east, nor from the west, nor from the wilderness, but God is the Judg, hee sets up one & pulls down another.

asked some of the gentlemen, by what new law they pressed carts, as they passed upon their occasions along the road, to carry goods distrained for a Conventicle ? It was also said, that he spoke with some respect of Mr. Henry ; saying, he knew him, and his character, well, and that he was a great friend of his mother's (Mrs. Jeffries of Acton, near Wrexham, a very pious, good woman), and that, sometimes at his mother's request, Mr. Henry had examined him in his learning, when he was a schoolboy, and had commended his proficiency. And it was much wondered at by many, that of all the times Sir George Jeffries went that circuit, though it is well enough known what was his temper, and what the temper of that time, yet he never sought any occasion against Mr. Henry, nor took the occasions that were offered, nor countenanced any trouble intended him, though he was the only Nonconformist in Flintshire."

Many ministers had an agreement to pray, between six and eight o'clock for the Church of God, and for the land and nation. Philip Henry suggested this practice to a friend, who sent it further. But the letter fell into wrong hands, "that perverted it ; the writer and receiver of the letter were bound over to the Assizes, and great suspicions Sir George Jeffries had, that it was a branch of the presbyterian plot, and rallied the parties accused severely. It appeared . . . that they received the project from Mr. Henry, which it was greatly feared, would bring him into trouble ; but Sir George, to the admiration of many, let it fall and never inquired further into it." But 'Jeffries' old schoolmaster' fared very badly at the same Assizes. It certainly speaks volumes for Philip Henry's disposition that he thus found the only soft spot in Jeffrey's heart.

Wee hear that Count Tickely[1] is quite routed, taken, & 't is supposed by this time executed. Persecution extream hot in France, though some neighbor Towns in Germany &c. shelter the Persecuted. There was lately Printed an order which the Justices of Devonsh. made in their last Quarter Sessions at Exeter—that all constables should strictly enquire concerning all Dissenters, whether any of them were from home between June 12 & Jul. 6 last & whether they have entertained any Strangers: Also that they apprehend all Nonconformist Ministers or Conventicle Preachers that are or have bin for three years last past in the County, that they put all the Penal laws ag^{t}. them in execution—in the strictest & severest manner &c. Tis approved & ordered to bee read in churches by all Ministers by the Bishop of Exeter & licensed by trusty Roger.[2] Some think it will bee used as a President . . .

Nov. 17, '85. On Thursday last the Commons mett agen & fell upon a debate concerning the Kings Speech, for which they have not yet seen cause to return him thanks. But the Lords did it, Hallifax saying they had cause to thank him for telling y^{m} his mind so plainly.

Two things in his Majestyes speech were to bee considered: 1. The supply desired, which 'tis said they have agreed upon to raise out of East India & French comodityes. But I do not hear of any Bill yet, brought in to that purpose. On Friday 't was put to the vote whether they should proceed further to consider of y^{e} supply, 't was carried in the Negative by one voice 183 ag^{t} 182. Many in the house murmured y^{t} y^{e} K. sh^{d}. reflect so on the Militia, laying y^{e} blame upon the officers imposed on y^{m}.

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[1] "Tœkœly, Eméric, Hungarian patriot, son of a Lutheran nobleman; endeavoured to free his native country from the Austrian rule; died 1705."

[2] L'Estrange, pamphleteer; Editor of the Observator; Press Licenser:—not he of p. 95 n.

2. The Popish officers in the Army. As to whom after much arguing they concluded to draw up an Address, and present it to his Majesty, to desire y^{t} those officers which will not take the Test may bee removed, to promise him to take some course to regulate the Militia that they may bee more serviceable for the future, & to pass an act to Indemnify those that had acted, tho' they had not taken the Test.

The address was to be presented this evening.

The Lord Brandon Gerrard[1] (the bill being found ag^{t}. him and Mr. Charlton last Thursday) was on Satt. brought up to the Kings Bench by a rule of Court to Plead to his Indictm^{t}. which hee did. Tis not for any th. w^{ch}. refers to y^{e} late Rebellion but the old Russel Plot. His trial is appointed to bee on Thursday come sevennight, he had much adoe to prevail for so long a time.

The E. of Stamford[2] was this day brought before y^{e} house of Lords & (tis said) is to be tried there to morrow fortnight.

The L^{d}. Delamere desiring a trial (tis said) the King ordered a Special Commission—down in Cheshire (y^{e} fact being there committed) to find the Bill & y^{n} to bee tried before y^{e} house of Lords y^{y} say one of y^{e} witnesses ag^{t}. him is in Newgate for stealing a Horse—y^{e} truth of it I cannot averr.

The Troubles in France continue. Mr. Tall^{ts}. told mee hee was then just come from visiting a famous French M^{nr}. newly come over. Hee had but 48 howers warning to depart, hath lands & debts in France, but cannot get a Farthing from them. He brought over with him a wife & two childr., hee said if his childr. had bin above 7 years old, hee must not have had them with him. The way they take is to force them to go to mass by keeping y^m long waking, quartering rude soldiers upon y^m & such violence, & if once they go to mass and afterwards renounce it, they are reckoned Apostates & tis Death by y^e Law.

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[1] Eldest son of the Earl of Macclesfield; accused of having taken part in the Rye House Plot.

[2] Similarly accused.

God look upon the troubles of his People and command deliverance for Jacob—The Protestant interest was never smaller in the world than now it is.

Nov. 24. The account Mr. H^n. gave of the warmth of y^e Pulpit here ag^t. Popery is very true—& not so much to bee wondred at when the Lawn Sleeves Particularly those of Lond. set such a good example. I doubt not but you have heard of the Prorogation of the Parliam^t. w^{ch}. has made some change in the scene of affairs.

On Thursday last y^e upper house had a very hot debate concerning y^e K'^{s} Speech especially y^t part of it y^t concern'd the Test, & a great many Lords quit themselves very well on y^e behalf of the Protestant Relig. tho' y^e K. hims. was present, y^e E. of Devonshire began, then Marq. Hallifax, L^d. Mordant, E. of Anglesey, E. of Nottingham, E. of Oxford, L^d. Lexington,—& the B^p. of London. Some high express. there were. Y^e debate adjourn'd till Munday at y^e Motion of y^e A.B^p. of York, but Friday morning (notice being sent at midnight to the Lords to appear in their Robes) y^e Commons were sent for up—

The L^d. Chancellor s^d : My Lords & Gentlemen his Majesty for divers good causes & considerations has ordered mee to Prorogue you till Feb. 9. And Therefore you are Prorogued accordingly. So ended this Session.

On Satt. I was at Westmin. & y^y were very busie erecting Scaffolds for y^e trial of y^e E. of Stamford, Notwithst. y^e Prorogation but this Afternoon they were taken down by order.

So that Stamford's Cause Depending in the house of Lords their Prorogation was his Repreive, but 't is otherwise wth Lord Delamere, for hee never appear'd there, Nor was his Indictm^{t} ever brought into the house, but it was to have bin done quietly.

L^{d} Brand. Ger. is to be try'd on Thursd. at y^{e} Kings Bench.

Many wonder y^{t} no sheriffs are yet nominated by y^{e} K. tho' they were Prickt by the Judges according to Custom.

The Accounts out of France continue very sad, enough to make one's heart Bleed. There is now never a Prot. Church in France, they talk of no less y^{n} 16 hund^{r}. thous^{d}. y^{t} within these few Moneths have bin either murthered starv'd Banisht or forced to turn. They are remembred in Pulpits here Both in Prayer & Sermon—and abus'd (as also is the Present parliam^{t}) by y^{e} Observator.

A letter out of Nottinghamshire to a Gent. here gave an account of y^{e} Burning of a fine new house of y^{e} E. of Kingstone near Newark through the negligence of some workmen that were painting the wainscote, the loss computed to bee no less than 40 or 50 thous^{d} Pounds.

All is vanity and vexation of spirit.

Dec. 1. On Thursd. last L^{d}. Brand. Ger. had his Tryal. The students came early & big wth Expecta. but were outed the Court (to make room for the abundance of Lords that were there present) & I among y^{e} rest. The Prisoner challenged a great many Peremptorily. Y^{e} evidence ag^{t} him was 1st. Keeling, who swore a Plot in general—y^{n} Rumsey[1] & L^{d} Grey[2] who brought it home to y^{e} Prisoner. Grey gave in his evidence so hansomely & in such Proper apt & Florid Expressions as made them all admire his

[1] A Rye House conspirator, who turned King's Evidence.

[2] A leader in Monmouth's rebellion; bought his pardon. His estate was strictly entailed, so his death would have profited James nothing. He became Earl of Tankerville.

oratory. Then one Saxton[1] (a Cheshire man a Tobaconist in Middlewich & now a prisoner in Newgate) testified the Prisoner having a hand in the late rebellion in the west but y^{t} did not concern the thing hee stood Charged with, viz., Treason ag^{t} his late Ma^{ty}. His defence for hims. was managed exceeding weakly—(for y^{e} truth is hee is no Conjurer). As to Keelings evid. hee pleaded it did not touch him, which was granted. As to Grey y^{t} hee was an outlawed p^{son} & his pardon did not reverse the outlawry, therf. unfit to be a witness—which was overruled. As to Rumsy hee urged a Contradiction observed to bee in his former evidence, w^{ch} was attested by y^{e} E. of Devonshire & L^{d}. Lexinton y^{t} at Russels tryal Rumsy swore that at the meeting at Shepherds there was no declaration read and Shepherd held the candle. This the Court said was not material, he might give his evid. by Peice-Meal, besides hee was not convicted for it. As to Saxton besides the improbability y^{t} one of his Quality would upon so little acquaintance be so familiar wth such a mean Person hee Pleaded y^{t} it did not reach the matter for which he was indicted. Hee called several witnesses to attest his & his Fathers loyalty w^{ch}. they did at large—but y^{e} E. of Anglesey gave offence by closing his Testimony with his hope y^{t} y^{e} Prisoner was an innocent man—notwithst. what had bin then sworn ag^{t} him, for which hee received a greivous check. *Wallop* was also checkt for moving on the behalf of the Prisoner.

The tryal lasted about 5 or 6 howers. The Jury after half an hours consideration brought him in guilty.

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[1] On the acquittal of Delamere, James, in his rage, vowed that the wretch Saxton should first be pilloried for perjury, and then sent down to the West to be hanged, drawn, and quartered for treason !

On Satt. I was in Court when hee was brought to receive Sentence. Somth. hee moved in arrest of judgmen^{t}. reading a Paper drawn up for that purpose, but it availed nothing.

So they proceeded to sentence w^{ch} y^{e} L^{d}. Ch. Just. Herbert Pronounced after a long Speech tending to to aggravate his fault & set home the sense of it. The Prisoner often pleaded his own innocency, But carried it with the strangest unconcernedness that I could not but admire. To see a man stand there receiving a sentence of Death without any change of countenance, or so much as a down look. Hee desired some time to prepare, for indeed (said hee) I have bin a great sinner, w^{ch} was the best word I heard him say.

Execution is to bee on Friday next—y^{e} sentence to be hanged drawn & quartered—w^{ch} tis probable will be altered to beheading.

The Prisoner is a comely man seems to bee about 30^{y} old hath a clear complexion, good head of hair & inclining to bee fat.

On Satt. Wade & Goodenough & Burton[1] were brought to y^{e} Bar to plead their Pardon, which was allowed & and they remanded to New-gate. The L^{d}. Delamere S^{r} Rob. Cotton[2] & Mr. Crew Offley came up to bee Bailed having Pray'd for the benefit of the Habeas Corpus the beginning of the Term, there was some arguing about L^{d}. Delam. bec. Saxton the witness ag^{t} him is sick, in which case there is a special Proviso in the Habeas Corpus Act, but at last it was granted. They three were bound in 20,000lb & y^{eir} suretyes, 4 for each of y^{m} bound in 10,000lb & body for body to appear the first day of the next Term. S$^{r.}$ Gilb. Gerr. came up to bee discharg'd from his Bail, but Lord Grey mentioning him in his evidence on Thursd. an information was brought in against him for treasonable Practises, to w^{ch}. he pleaded not Guilty and Put in Bail. Bateman[1] y^{e} surgeon is to be tryed this week at y^{e} old Bailiff. Tis reported Lord Gerrard is repreived, 't is lookt upon as y^{e} Harbinger of a Pardon.

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[1] Odious 'informers'; the product of a hideous period in our annals.

"1681. March. Election in Chester, with great Contest between Mr. Booth & S^{r}. Rob. Cotton & Sir Phil. Egerton & S^{r}. Rob. Lester—the two former chosen. March 21, they met at Oxford. Mar. 28, they were sent home again disolv'd. The reason suppos'd to bee bec. they would not wave the busines of disabling y^{e} D[uke] of Y[ork]." P.H.

Tis said most of y^{e} Lords present did Petition for his life & gave him some hopes of speeding before his sentence, w^{ch}. perhaps made him so unconcerned. There is lately come out an answer to that wicked Book called Popery, represented and misrepresented, y^{e} author is not known. Some say Dr. Tennison.

London, Dec. 8, '85. Peace & safety are great mercyes at any time & to bee more prized when our Brethren abroad especially in France are in trouble & Great Distress, great beyond expression. Every week wee hear worse & worse tidings concerning them. Those y^{t} fled out of y^{e} Country are now commanded to return by such a time, or else bee proclaimed Traytors & their estates confiscate. Y^{y} y^{t} will not go to Mass by such a day must to Prison—and there what hardships they endure cannot bee conceived. Those that have bin forced to Mass as many thousands have by great violence (& are now troubled for it) if any of y^{m} fall sick neighbors must give notice to the Parish Preist (& are to bee punished if they do not) y^{e} Preist tenders them the Sacrm^{t}. & extreme unction which if they refuse how sick soever they bee they are hurried to the jaol. If they dye, theres the end of y^m. If they recover they are hanged.

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[1] A Whig and Exclusionist—who had tended Titus Oates in Newgate after his scourging.

Many passages of this kind are related to us by y^e Publick letters and otherwise, which challenge the sympathizing affections of a bleeding heart.

Lord Brandon is repreived *sine die* which is thought equivalent to a Pardon.

Dec. 15. Last week was the Sessions at old Bayliff—abundance of Felons convict & condemn'd. Mr. Bateman the surgeon who hath bin long and often in the Bryars is now found guilty and sentenc'd to dye. Y^e crime laid to his charge was his concern in y^e Russel Plot of '83—that hee undertook y^e management of one part of y^e Citty in the intended rising. The witnesses ag^t him were Good-enough & Lee the latter especially, whose evidence the Prisoner sought to invalidate by the testimony of one *Baker* who averr'd that *hee* had bin Tampering with him to ly at catch for some advantage against *Bateman* telling him how much it would bee to his advantage.

Bateman is very weak & sick—was scarce able to hold up his head at the tryal, is much concerned for six children y^t hee leaves behind him, is to be executed to-morrow, whether at Tyburn or before his own door I know not for certain.

The Sessions were adjourned till Satt. next, then Mr. Hamden comes to his Tryal.

The Bill being found in Cheshire ag^t Lord Delam. hee was yesterd. seiz'd & recommitted to the Tower where hee awaits his Tryal.

Dec. 22. This day sennight the Venetian Embassador made a publick entry. I knew nothing of till after, & so saw it not. On Wednesday the E. of Clarrendon went out in state for Ireland, on Friday Bateman was executed at Tyburn. I saw him pass by, with seemingly great courage and undauntedness. Mr. Hampden's Tryal is put off till Wednesday y^{e} 30th instant, some say because of Lord Howard's illness.

There is lately come out a Popish Almanack Calendarium Catholico^{rm} for the ensuing year. Hee gives a Punctual account of the Saints Dayes & at y^{e} end an explication of the Principal Holidayes and a list of all the eminent Papists that were sufferers for the late Kings during the Soldiers, whether executed, slain in the feilds, imprisoned or their estates confiscated (But many are found there who were reputed Protestants). Divers others such things he hath, & and it comes out barefaced.

There is also a book out concerning the Mass. An explication of the nature of it, as a reall sacrifice, A Rationale of the offices of it as far as concerns the devotion of the People, wth Divers Prayers & Directions to help that devotion.

Also a Reply to the answer to Popery Represented and Misrepresented. There is lately Publisht Platina's Lives of the Popes, translated into English & continued to this present time By Paul Rycaut, since knighted & gone over (in some office) into Ireland, pret. 16^{sh}.

Towards evening I usually lay by my Law & study something more easy—at Present Lambard's Perambulation of Kent is under my hand. 'T was written in Q. Elis. time & gives a very partic. account of every th. worth taking notice of in y^{t} County. If the like were done for each County by some person living upon the spot 't would be much more usefull than our huge Maps.

Mr. Lambard doth in this Book upon all occasions reflect on Popery especially the Folly and Foppishness of it, Gives a partic. account of the Holy Maid of Kent, y^{e} Famous Rood of Boxly, which was made artificially to move of itself. At Boxly was also the image of S^{t}. Rumbald, the son of a Saxon King who as soon as he was born cried out *Christianus sum*, called to be Baptized, gave directions about it, talkt much of religion & died within 3 dayes. Y^{e} little Image of this Infant had this vertue that those who had concealed any sin in confession could not lift it up.

Whereas indeed if the offering did not please, the Preist by a little engine fastened it to its Pillar, & suddenly loosened it agen at pleasure. S$^{t.}$ Nicholas was their Neptune, S$^{t.}$ Leonard their Eolus, & his image held a little Fane which the Petitioner turned y^{t} way hee would have the wind to come. Many other observable things I meet with, which I keep account of in Collections.

The K. has Granted a Pardon to all the Popish officers and continues y^{m} in Commission. Many complaints out of all parts of the rudeness of soldiers, how grevious they are to the people, especially at Bristol—where, if a man displease y^{m} y^{ei} make him ride y^{e} wooden Horse, w^{ch} 't is said was the death of one man.

Tis talkt y^{e} E. of Castlemain is going embass. into Italy in great Pomp & Splendour. Some Talk of a Toleration intended. Tis certain many were released last week by y^{e} B^{p} of London, who were in prison upon excommun. capiend. The meaning of it I do not know.

Dec. 29, '85. Wee cannot expect much publick news this idle time only more storyes of y^{e} troubles in France which continue still in great severity. Tis s^{d}. y^{e}. B^{p}. of London is turn'd out of y^{e} Council & frowned upon for opposing y^{e} general Toleracon proposed. But y^{t} reason is only Ghessed at.

The Jesuits in France are said to have offered 16 millions of Crowns for y^{e} estates of y^{e} Protestants.

To morrow Mr. Hamden's tryal is expected and his execution not long after. He has had of late some more liberty for his Friends to come to him then formerly.

Jan. 5, —8$\frac{5}{6}$. I doubt not but you have heard somth. of Mr. Hamden's tryal, tho' perhaps I can give you a more partic. account being (without any difficulty) present at it. There was a very great appearance, 8 or 9 Judges, severall of the nobillity, D. of Ormond, Beaufort, Grafton, Earles of Feversham, Mulgrave, Huntington *&c.* y^{e} names of y^{e} Jury were called over, & y^{n} Mr. Hamd. brought to y^{e} Bar, his Indictm^{t}. read y^{t} he was a false Traytor against our late Soveraign K. Charles y^{e} 2nd, had conspired wth James D. of Monmouth & others to levy warr, raise rebellion &c. according to y^{e} usual form, much y^{e} same wth y^{e} former Indictm^{t}. only now y^{e} effectual word *Proditoris* was put in, & y^{e} fact laid upon another day. Before, it was June 30. Now Jul. 20, 1683, & many other dayes and times before and after. Being asked Guilty or not Guilty, hee said, My Lord, About two years ago I was indicted, tryed & fined for this same fault, and am now in execution for the Fine. And I think I have as much law for mee as Perhaps ever any Prisoner that came before your Lordship. To bee twice Arraigned & tryed & twice Punished for the same fact is very hard. The Lord Ch. Just. told him it was not for the same offence y^{t} hee was now tried, hee was not then tried for treason as now, for treason would not have been Punished with a Fine. Then said Mr. Hamd. I wave all plea & submit myself to the Kings Mercy, but being told hee must Plead Guilty or not Guilty hee Pleaded Guilty to y^{e} Inditem^{t} which I believe caused as much wonder as hath ever bin in one place at one time.

Hee said the King was the Fountain of Mercy as well as Justice, others had had experience of it & hee hoped hee might. Hee acknowledged his offence to be very great, professed hims. truly sorry for it, And promised if the K. w^{d} spare him, hee would behave hims. as a dutifull subject to his Majesty. Hee desir'd the L^d Ch. Just. that hee would bee pleased to represent his case to the King. The L$^{d.}$ Ch. Just. told him that he had taken the best and likelyest way to find mercy but y^t y^e K. is y^e Fountain of Justice as well as Mercy & being the Fountain of mercy, mercy must come freely from him, but hee promised to represent his case Faithfully—And Privately directed him, as I am told by y^e Keeper to keep down & beg the King's Pardon, which hee did. This seemed to intimate y^t L^d Ch. Just. w^d stand his Friend. Then y^e Clerk was directed to record his Plea, but one thing Mr. Hamd. desired leave to explain hims. in, which was y^t in y^e indictm^t hee was charged with a design to murther y^e K. w^{ch} hee utterly denyed, Professing it ag^t his Nature & y^t hee ever abhorred y^e thoughts of it, Which exception y^e L$^{d.}$ Ch. Ju. Approved him—telling him that they understood him y^t hee never designed to assassinate the King, only to Levy warr ag^t him, which the law interprets as tending to y^e murther of y^e King, & y^t it doth so wee have experienced.

So his Plea was recorded, hee begged y^e Favour of having his Relac̃ons come to him & leave given y^t they might come wth y^e Keeper, but if hee would have any more hee must apply hims. to y^e King.

Then the Judges went off the Bench—& y^e recorder proceeded to sentence telling him hee needed not say any th. to aggravate his fault, perceiving him so sensible of it y^t hee had taken y^e fairest way to mercy & y^t y^e duty of his place was to tell him the Sentence of the Law, w^{ch} hee did as is usuall. And Mr. Ham. carried back to New Gate.

What means were used to procure his Pardon I know not but this I know that Thursd. or Friday last the warrant was sealed for his execution on Friday next, but to day wee are assured that hee hath a repreive. Some say for 3 weeks, others *sine die.*

Jan. 12, 8$\frac{5}{6}$. The Lent Preachers at Whitehall Chap. are nominated, Dr. Stillingfl. Tillots, &c. take their turn among y^{m}, but I think not y^{e} B$^{p.}$ of London.

Last Satt. a Proclamac̄on came out to signify that the King did intend at the Meeting of the Parliam$^{t.}$ Feb. 10, to prorogue y^{m} further to May 10. Therefore those in y^{e} Country needed not come up—only those y^{t} were about Town to meet, & further y^{t} unless any urgent occasion happened hee intended to Prorogue y^{m} further from May 10, so that they need not come except they hear further. So that the Prorogac̄on seems to bee like Mr. Hamd^{s} repreive *sine die.*

Troubles in France continue and increase. An Edict that all protestants must abjure within a week or their estates confiscated & they sent to y^{e} Gallyes. One wrote over lately y^{t} of one Church formerly consisting of 6,000 there is but 40 remaining but what are dead, fled or abjur'd. He was one of the 40 & dragooners quartered upon him, so y^{t} hee had much adoe to hold out. Divers sad storyes are told. It is said wee shall have a Publick Collection for their releif by Authority.

[The above MS. is copied by a sister, probably, and no doubt the orthography suffers.

"The brief for the poor Protestants was not sealed on Wednesday, as was hoped it would be ; the Chancellor bid it to be laid by when it was offered him to seal."—*Letter of Lady Rachel Russell,* Jan. 15, 1685–6.]

[" I had thoughts of travell and preparations for the like scene his father trod ; but the ground being grown too slippery for every bungler, lett us venture him into Westminster Hall, where the cats fall alwayes on their legs."—*Sir Robert Southwell to Mr. Pepys,* Jan. 15, 1686–7.]

CHAPTER IV

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE BEGINNING AND PROGRESS OF OUR CONGREGATION

WRITTEN IN 1710 BY MR. MATTHEW HENRY

WHEN the Liberty which Protestant Dissenters enjoy'd by connivance for some years in the Reign of K. Charles 2d, after 1672, was destroy'd in the later end of that Reign about the year 1682,[1] Mr. Cook, Mr. Hall,

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[1] From Calamy the following extracts are mostly taken :—

"Mr. William Cook . . . was a man of a most Godly Life, and unwearied Labour. One of the Primitive Stamp ; who could go in poor Cloathing, live on a little, travel on Foot, Preach and Pray almost all the Week when he had Opportunity ; in Season and out of Season ; trampling on this World as Dirt, and living a mortified laborious Life. He strictly adher'd to his Principle in all the turns of the Times. . . . After King Charles the first was Beheaded, he would often pray, *That God would pull down all usurped Power, and restore the banish'd to their Rights.* He was greatly offended at the *Anabaptists, Separatists,* and *Sectaries* and *Cromwel's* Army for their Disloyalty. And therefore he thought it his Duty to join with Sir *George Booth* (afterwards Lord *Delamere*) when he made his attempt to bring in the King, in and Mr. Harvy had each of them a distinct congregation in Chester, which were all broken and dispers'd by the Persecution then.

In the year 1684 Mr. Cook dy'd, (a Great Example of truly Primitive Christianity,) and soon after Mr. Hall,[1]

1659. He then persuaded the Citizens of Chester to deliver their City to him : For which he was brought up Prisoner to *London*, and continu'd long in Confinement in *Lambeth House*; and had not the times turn'd he had been try'd for his Life. But all this would not procure his Liberty to Preach the Gospel of Christ, without the Oaths, Subscriptions, Declarations, Reordination, and Conformity required : Nay, quickly after his being Silenced, he was committed to the Common Jail of *Chester*, for Preaching in his own House, by the Mayor, at the Instigation of the then Bishop *Hall*. He continu'd to the time of his Death in a Pastoral Relation to a Society of many worthy and eminent Christians in that City: tho' during the heat of the *Five Mile Act*, he was forc'd to withdraw to *Puddington* in *Wirral*, where (as in *Chester* till King Charles's Indulgence) he constantly attended on the Publick Ministry; and he himself preach'd in the Intervals. . . . He finish'd his Course with Joy, July 4, 1684 (but see below), Ætat. 73. . . . Tho' for sometime before he dy'd, such was the heat of the Persecution, that he durst not shew his Face in the City, yet many Considerable Persons were very forward to do him Honour at his Death."

As we have seen Mr. Cook was ejected from St. Michael's.

"Visited Mr. Cook, full of zeal, agt. B$^{ps.}$ liturgy." P. H. Diary, Feb. 16, 1661.

"Mr. Cook told y^{e} Bp. y^{t} though his Ordination by Presbyters were not legal yet it was Evangelical." July 30, 1661.

"June 12, 1663. Mr. Cook imprison'd in Chester . . . hee chose y^{e} common Prison, where hee hath liberty to preach every day to y^{e} Prisoners, his chamber is cal'd y^{e} Freeman's Chamber. July 24. Saw Mr. Cook, Prison no Prison. July 4, 1681. dy'd at Chester Mr. William Cook, an aged, painful, faithful Min^{r} of J. X^{t} his sickness cut short and easy, his Death sweet & comfortable."—P. H., Diary.

[1] Tong says, "Mr. Hall was Pastor to that People in Chester that invited Mr. Henry" . . . "Ralph Hall was ejected from

a worthy pious man, and that a little before he dy'd suffered six months imprisonment in the Northgate upon the Five Mile Act; where he was an instrument of the eminent conversion of one Spooner a soldier, who was then condemn'd and execut'd for murder. They both dy'd in a good old age.

Those of their Congregations that continued Dissenters generally joyn'd with Mr. Harvy,[1] who kept close and preach'd very privately in his own house or elsewhere, and rode out the storm. But some few had Dr. Long[2] and Mr. Burnet,[3] who came to them now and then, and administer'd the Lord's Supper to them, and other ministers[4] occasionally preach'd in private to them.

Mear, in Staffordshire: and gathered a Congregation which met for worship regularly during the interval of quiet between 1672 and 1682. He died in 1684."

[1] Ejected from Wallasey in Wirral: ordained by Bishop Worth in London in the year 1660.

[2] Ejected from a Fellowship at Trinity College, Cambridge. "He and several others were turn'd out, for refusing to promise *Conformity*, before they certainly knew the Terms that would be fix'd. . . . No Relief could be had." Mr. George Long "not being willing to be unemploy'd took his Doctor's Degree in Physick at Leyden," settled in practice at Newcastle (Staff), and "met with great difficulties. He was indicted at the Assizes for living in a Corporation, and forc'd to remove when he had Seven Children, not knowing whither to go."

Mr. M. Henry buried his son, Nathanael Long, "a very promising person," Minister at Wrexham, in 1706.

[3] Calamy mentions Samuel Burnet, as ejected from Enstone, Oxfordshire, and afterwards taking to Physic. [His name, however, according to the Commonwealth records of payment, was *William*. A. G.]

[4] Dr. Harrison, ejected from the Cathedral (St. Oswald's), did not leave Chester till 1670. Born at Kingston upon Hull: bred in New England: became a celebrated preacher in London: and

About the end of the year 1686 some business drew me to Chester, and I lodg'd at Mr. Henthorn's, who a little before had been at Broad-Oke on a Lord's Day and understood that I sometimes preach'd, and therefore urg'd me to preach at his house in the evening, which

went over to Ireland with *Harry Cromwel.* "Afterwards, he was Preacher in the Great Church in Chester, and was in no want either of a large or attentive Auditory. . . . My Lord Thomund (who had no great Respect for Ecclesiasticks of any sort) . . . often us'd to say, that he had rather hear *Dr. Harrison* say Grace over an Egg, than hear the Bishops Pray and Preach."

Mr. John Garside "was Preaching somewhere in Derbyshire when the Uniformity Act took place. . . . He was an humble, plain, methodical, warm and lively Preacher, and a great Sufferer for *Nonconformity.* He was pull'd out of the Pulpit in Borsley Chappel by Sir Jeoffry Shakerly in 1660. And the next Day was carry'd to Chester, where he suffer'd Imprisonment according to Law. . . . He was bold in hazarding himself to Preach the Gospel and fear'd no Dangers."

Mr. M. Henry took part in the ordination of his son, at Knutsford, in 1707.

Mr. John Bailey, a protégé of Dr. Harrison, also appears to have preached in Chester, before going to Ireland, and thence to New England, "where he became an eminent minister."

Mr. John Wilson, "of *Brazen-Nose College,* in *Oxon,* ejected from Backford, took a house in Chester some time after, & "had as large meetings there as the Severity of the Times, and Prudence would permit. When Liberty was granted, he preach'd in a Gentlewoman's House, and had a throng'd Congregation that fill'd the Hall and Galleries, and some part of the Court. . . . The being confin'd to a warm Room all Day, and forc'd frequently for his Security to go out at unseasonable times of the Night in Cold Weather, brought a Tenderness upon him, which issu'd in so settled a Cold and Cough, as took him away in the midst of his Days. He dy'd at Chester about 1672."

Mr. Peter Leigh, ejected from St. John's, went to live at Knutsford: Mr. Glendall, ejected from St. Peter's, is found at Great Budworth. "Mr. Glendal's Argum$^{t.}$ agt. Common Prayer was, y^{t} it imposes upon God. Either this hee must have or none.

I did two or three times; I also preached at Mr. Harvy's, and once at Mr. Jolly's, and had the happiness of contracting an intimate acquaintance with that worthy pious Gentleman Mr. Edward Greg, a man of an excellent sweet temper, and great usefulness.

In January following, there being some expectation of Indulgence from King James, Mr. Greg and Mr. Henthorn came to me at my Father's house at Broad-Oke, to sollicit me to promise that, if Liberty should be granted, I would come and be their Minister. I was then in the 25th year of my age, and was determin'd in the strength of God's grace to apply myself to the work of the Ministry, and tho' it was a surprise to me, I thought there was a Providence in it, and therefore by my Father's advice gave them some encouragement to hope that I would comply with their Desire, with this Proviso (which they seemed a little uneasy at) that Mr. Harvy would consent to my coming, but at that time I was going to London to reside there at Gray's Inn for four months, and did so.

In February and March 168$\frac{6}{7}$ the Meetings of Dissenters began in many places to be held publickly, and the Persecution was discountenanc'd by the Court, and April 4, 1687, the King's Proclamation for Indulgence came out, intended no doubt, in favour of his Design to introduce Popery, but wonderfully over-ruled by the

Whereas, in conceived Prayer, wee ask of God to give us that w^{ch} wee are to give him & wee give it in his strength." P. H. Diary, July 30, 1661.

Mr. Thomas Upton, ejected from Trinity, was not apparently, a nonconformist, though deprived of a sequestered living. He died, 1684, rector of East Locking, Berks.

Divine Providence not only to the Relief and Comfort of many good People then in Prison, and otherwise in Distress, but to the Advancement of the Interests of Religion in the Nation; and was likewise such a Provocation to many of the Ch. of E., that it was the first thing and an Inlet to other things that made them uneasy at King James and his Government, and prepared the way for the glorious Revolution.

When the Day of Liberty began to dawn, a good Providence brought Mr. Tong to Chester, who preach'd about three months in Mr. Henthorn's Hall, and was instrumental of good to many souls, the Lord working with him.

I being then at London when the Meetings began to be set up, had Inducements to think of settling there. But Mr. Greg ply'd me with Letters, in many of which Mr. Henthorn and others joyn'd, earnestly pressing me to persevere in my Intentions to come to Chester, and assuring me that upon their Application to Mr. Harvy he had consented to my coming. Mr. Kirk and Mr. Henry Hall were the most forward in joyning with them in their Importunity. In the beginning of May Mr. Henthorn's business brought him up to London, where he was personally very urgent with me in the matter, and at length I agreed to hasten down.

In the prospect of my Settlement at Chester I was solemnly ordain'd in London May 9, 1687,[1] but privately in Mr. Steel's House, by the Imposition of the Hands of six Ministers, with Fasting and Prayer, of whom Mr. Wickins was President, who had been a Member of the London Class above forty years. Mr. Steel preach'd and many Prayers were put up for me, which I trust I have far'd the better for. I then made my Ordination vows particularly, which are still a bond upon my soul. It was a Day never to be forgotten. I had been examin'd by them, a week before, in the several parts of Learning, and had exhibited in Latin upon a Question given me, and defended it, and had preach'd my Probation Sermon at Mr. Lawrence's.

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[1] "Because of the difficulty of the times." Quoted from the fuller "certificate" drawn up by the two survivors Fran. Tallents and James Owen, Dec. 17, 1702. The sixth minister was Nath. Vincent. The "difficulty" had been such that the six

Towards the later end of May I came down to my Father's House at Broad-Oak and in June I was fetched from Broad-Oke by Mr. Greg, Mr. Hall, Mr. Coker, &c., and brought to Chester, where the day following being Thursday, the Lecture day, I preach'd my first sermon publickly, on I COR. 2. 2, "I determin'd to know nothing among you but Jesus Christ and him crucified," and I expounded Ps. I. and so went on in the Exposition of the Book of Psalms constantly on Lecture daies: and I think it is now the 5th time that I am going over them. Before I preach'd that day, I went to Mr. Harvy to know whether he had consented to my coming, as my Friends had assured me, whom I told that if I found it otherwise I would certainly return to the Place from whence I came. Mr. Harvy told me he had consented

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ordainers felt compelled to content themselves with the following indefinite "Testimonial": *We whose Names are subscribed, are well assured that* Mr. Matthew Henry *is an Ordained Minister of the Gospel.*

to my coming: he thought there was work enough for two Ministers in Chester, and if another must come, he would rather I should than any man in the North of England.

At my coming Mr. Tong went to Wrexham, and preach'd there, and after some months he settled in Knutsford, where he was instrumental to found a Congregation which hath since proved a very flourishing one.

About two or three Lord's Daies before I came the Congregation was remov'd from Mr. Henthorn's Hall to a large stable of his adjoining, to which some addition was made, and at the expence of the Congregation it was fitted up and made tolerably decent and convenient for the purpose.

The first Lord's Day after I came, in the morning I expounded Neh. 8, concerning the Exposition of the Scriptures signifying my purpose to keep up that exercise: and accordingly the following Sabbath began with the Book of Joshua, afterwards went back to Genesis, and in about twenty years I expounded over all the Old Testament (only once when we were in some parts not so edifying, on Sacrament Daies I expounded over the Gospel Psalms) and am now going over it the second time, and am got as far as 10 Numbers.

About a fortnight after I came Mr. Tong and I kept a Fast together publickly to implore God's Presence with us: Mr. Tong preach'd on *Ps.* 2. 11, *Rejoice with trembling,* a very excellent seasonable discourse, I preach'd 2 *Thes.* 3. 1, "Pray for us that the word of the Lord may have free course."

Our Meeting on Lord's Daies was held at Church Time in the Morning, but in the Afternoon not til four a clock, when the Publick Service was over. It was hoped that thereby the Church might be somewhat obliged, which we were very ambitious of doing, and the more because we saw our Liberty at that time very precarious and that the Papists were designing the Ruin of us all. But Mr. Greg pleading it with Dr. F. in mitigation of the Separation that we came to the Church one part of the Day, the Dr. told him it made the matter no better. It was schismatical at any time; whereupon in September following we alter'd our Method, and our Meeting was held at Church-time both morning and afternoon, and so has continued through the Good Hand of our God upon us ever since. Thereupon Mr. Harvy, who before had his meeting only in the evening of the Lord's daies (except on his Sacrament Daies) began to keep it as we did, both morning and afternoon at Church-time, and so continued it.

Mr. Harvy preach'd a weekly Lecture every Tuesday in the Afternoon, and for some time kept a Fast the Tuesday before every Sacrament. Our weekly Lecture was on Thursday in the Afternoon, and our Fast only once a quarter. Then a Lecture was set up on Wednesday in Trinity Church to be preach'd by country Ministers, but that soon dropt altogether, on Friday by Dr. Hancock at his own church St. Michael's which (as I remember) he kept up as long as he staid in the City; which I constantly attended, as I did also Mr. Harvy's.

When we began in Sept. to preach at Church time in the Afternoon I expounded Ps. 119 that winter, and in the Spring following began the N.T., which in about 11 years I expounded over very largely, and have now almost finished it a second time.

The second Saturday after I came to Chester I began to catechize the Children at 4 a clock, and have kept up that exercise ever since: hearing them say either the 1st and 2nd or 1st and 3rd part of the Catechism, and expounding to them one Question at a time, (and since my Scripture Catechism came out examining them in that). And so have since I came expounded the Catechism over 11 times, and am now in the 12th and one of the boies hath repeated by Heart the heads of the sermons of the foregoing Lord's day. I have kept up catechizing on Saturday evenings partly as a Preparation for the Sabbath, (and many accordingly have attended it, Mr. Cook used to preach at that time), and partly that I would have more time and freedom with the Children than I would have if we should do it publickly on the Lord's Day. Every other year when we have finished the Catechism I have preach'd a Sermon to the Children, at their usual time of catechizing.

After I had been here about a Month I applied myself to Mr. Harvy to desire that both our congregations might be united, and I would be his Assistant, or at least that we might joyn together in the Lords Supper, but he peremptorily refused both, saying we would each stand on our own bottom; whereupon the second Lords day in July, 1687, I first administer'd the Lord's Supper, at which there were about 45 that had formerly been Communicants with Mr. Cook and Mr. Hall: the chief were Mr. Hardware and his family, Mr. Greg and his family, Mr. Henthorn, Mr. Kirk, Mr. Hall, Mr. Bradborn, Madam Kenrick, Mrs. Mainwaring and her Sister, Mr. Tolly and his wife, Mr. Henry Yong, Mr. Shaw, Wm. Bolland, and Richard Humphries, &c. And there were ten young men admitted that had never been Communicants before, of whom the chief were Mr. Coker, Mr. Henthorn's two sons, Mr. Wm. Bellis, &c.

Since then I have never fail'd (thanks be to my good God) to administer the Lord's Supper the first Lords Day in every month, except that in March 168$\frac{8}{9}$ when I had the small pocks 'twas the 2nd Lords day and my honor'd Father administer'd it, and in Sept. 1704 when I was ill of a Fever Dr. Benyon administer'd it the 2nd Lds. day, and by the 2nd Lds. day in Oct. I was so well recover'd as to administer it myself, —*Laus deo.*

After we began to administer the Lord's Supper the number of our Communicants increased very much; There were few months for a great while but we admitted 10 or 12 or 15 new ones. And many out of the country about; divers of whom afterwards left us by reason of their distance, but some clave unto us. In about two or three years our communicants increas'd to about 250. And our Lord's day meetings especially in the Afternoon were very much throng'd. In 1691 we took in another Bay of building and all little enough.

In July, 1687, I marry'd Mr. Hardware's Daughter;[1] My dear and worthy Friend Mr. Greg graciously entertain'd us at his House for four months. In October following Mr. Harvy, upon some small disagreement with Mr. Henthorn in the Friery came to one in the Bridge Street much more convenient for his meeting, and then I took that in the Friery, in which I have lived ever since now about 22 years; and I have made this remark that in the former half of that time I had five Deaths in the House, my first wife, three children, and Cosin Aldersey, but in the later half not one: God sets the one over against the other; the Lord fit me for the changes which it is likely are at the door!

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[1] Mr. Tong speaks quaintly about the negotiations.

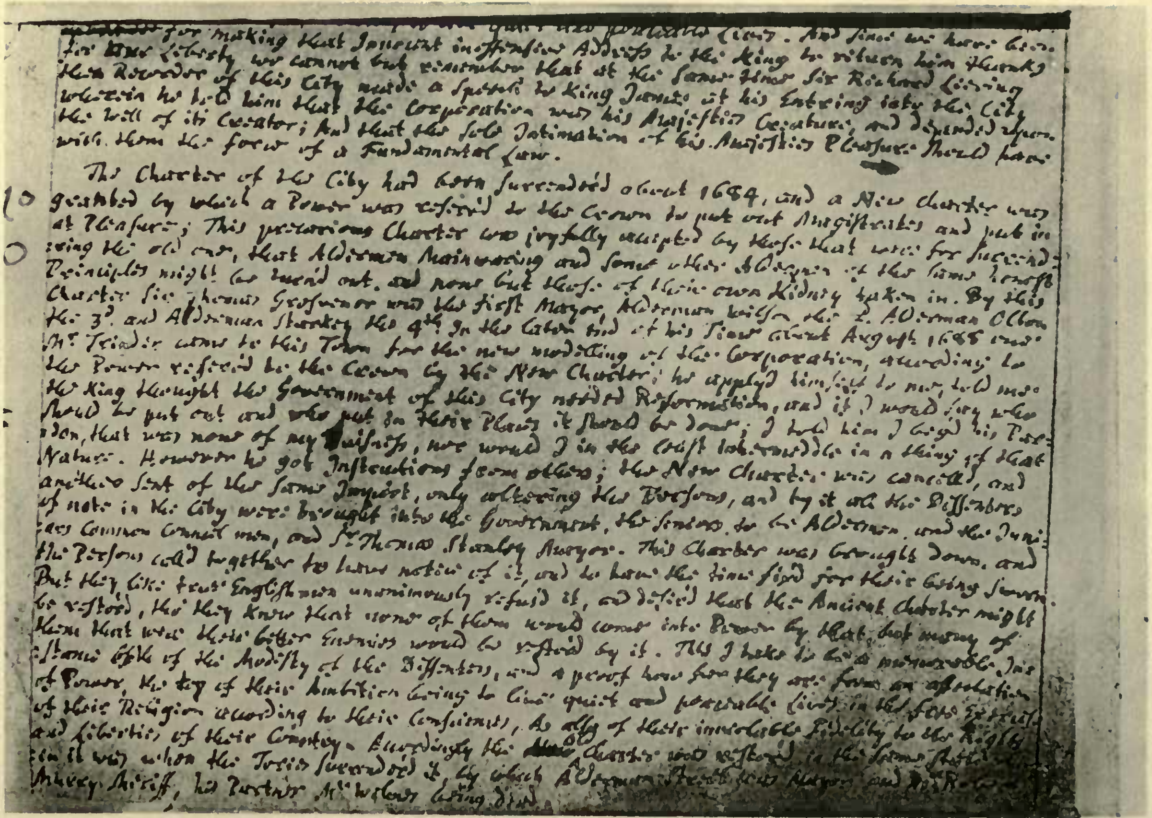
The mother "considered she was their only Daughter, they were able to give her a good Portion, she had everything in her that was recommending, several Gentlemen of much larger Estates had desired to make their addresses to her; she was afraid the World would say they had not taken sufficient Care of their Daughter, but rather sacrificed her to the Interest of a Party. . . . She knew the Ministry, especially of the Non-conformists, was very much despised, the Liberty was precarious; if Persecution should arise, she question'd whether her Daughter would have Faith and Patience enough to encounter with it, having been tenderly brought up, and every where treated with Respect and Honour, and if she could not stoop to the Cross, she considered it would be a great addition to Mr. Henry's Troubles in a Time when he would have most need of Comfort." But later, "it was become now a much harder thing to reconcile her to herself (for opposing), than before it had been to reconcile her to that Proposal." And when her only daughter died, good Mrs. Hardware found a second mother for the babe she left in "the youngest Daughter of Robert Warburton, Esq., of Grange, who was "a younger Branch of the ancient and honourable Warburtons, of Arely, Baronets."

Then she and her husband went to live at Bromborough Court, in Wirral—where Dr. Harrison had been a guest and preached, before he entered the pulpit of "The Great Church" at Chester.

We cannot refrain from saying that the ministers seemed to be inveterate Matchmakers. Mr. Tong was not unpleased with the part he took in his friend's affair: the stately John Howe engaged in the delicate complexities: and Mr. Matthew Henry himself, as we shall see from letters printed towards the end of this Chapter, became an expert. In his case, perhaps, it was inherited.

In September, 1687, King James in his Progress came to Chester,[1] when (it being intimated to us that it would be expected, and the Churchmen having led us the way, and divers of the Lancashire Ministers being come hither on purpose to attend him) Mr. Harvy and I and the Heads of our Congregations joyn'd in an Address of Thanks to him, not for Assuming a Dispensing Power, but for our Ease, Quiet, and Liberty under his Protection; we presented it to him at the Palace: he told us he wish'd we had a Magna Charta for our Liberty. We did not promise to assist in taking away the Tests, but only to live quiet and peaceable Lives. And since we have been reproch'd for making that Innocent inoffensive Address to the King to return him thanks for our Liberty, we cannot but remember that at the same time Sir Richard Leiving, then Recorder of this City, made a speech to King James at his entring into the City

[1] James was met at the Bars by the Corporation in their robes, and escorted to the Bishop's Palace. On the 27th August he was splendidly entertained in the Pentice, and seated in a canopy of crimson velvet prepared for the occasion. Monmouth, "the Protestant Duke," had been entertained in the same place five years before.



[illegible]. And since we have been ~~[illegible]~~ for making that Innocent inoffensive Address to the King to return him thanks for Our Liberty we cannot but remember that at the same time Sir Richard Levinge the Recorder of this City made a Speech to King James at his Entering into the City wherein he told him that the Corporation was his Majesties Creature, and depended upon the will of its Creator; And that the sole Intimation of his Majesties Pleasure should have with them the force of a Fundamental Law.

The Charter of the City had been surrendred about 1684, and a New charter was granted by which a Power was reserv'd to the Crown to put out Magistrates and put in at Pleasure; This pernicious Charter was joyfully accepted by those that were for surrendring the old one, that Alderman Mainwaring and some other Aldermen of the same honest Principles might be turn'd out, and none but those of their own Kidney taken in. By this Charter Sir Thomas Grosvenor was the first Mayor, Alderman Wilson the 2. Alderman Ollton the 3d. and Alderman Starkey the 4th. In the latter end of his time about August 1688 one Mr Trinder came to this Town for the new modelling of the Corporation, according to the Power reserv'd to the Crown by the New Charter; he applyd himself to me, told me the King thought the Government of this City needed Reformation, and if I would say who should be put out and who put in their Places it should be done; I told him I begg'd his Pardon, that was none of my business, nor would I in the least intermeddle in a thing of that Nature. However he got Instructions from others; the New Charter was cancell'd, and another sent of the same Import, only altering the Persons, and by it all the Dissenters of note in the City were brought into the Government, the seniors to be Aldermen, and the Juniors Common Council men, and Sr Thomas Stanley Mayor. This Charter was brought down, and the Persons call'd together to have notice of it, and to know the time fixd for their being sworn. But they like true Englishmen unanimously refus'd it, and desir'd that the Ancient charter might be restor'd, tho' they knew that none of them would come into Power by that, but many of them that were their bitter Enemies would be restor'd by it. This I take to be a memorable Instance of the Modesty of the Dissenters, and a proof how far they are from an affectation of Power, the top of their Ambition being to live quiet and peaceable lives in the free Exercise of their Religion according to their Consciences, As also of their inviolable Fidelity to the Rights and Liberties of their Country. Accordingly the ~~[illegible]~~ old Charter was restor'd in the same state it was when the Tories surrendred it, by which Alderman Streete was Mayor and Mr R[illegible] Mercy Sheriff, his partner Mr Wilson being dead.

wherein he told him that the Corporation was his Majestie's Creature, and depended upon the Will of its Creator : And that the Sole Intimation of his Majestie's Pleasure should have with them the force of a Fundamental Law.

The Charter of the City had been surrender'd about 1684, and a New Charter was granted by which a Power was reserv'd to the Crown to put out Magistrates and put in at Pleasure ; This precarious Charter was joyfully accepted by those that were for surrendring the old one, that Alderman Mainwaring and and some other Aldermen of the same honest Principles might be turn'd out, and none but those of their own Kidney taken in. By this Charter Sir Thomas Grosvenor was the first Mayor, Alderman Wilson the 2d, Alderman Olton the 3d, and Alderman Starkey the 4th. In the later end of his Time about August, 1688, one Mr. Trinder came to this Town for the new modelling of the Corporation according to the Power reserv'd to the Crown by the New Charter ; he apply'd himself to me, told me the King thought the Government of this City needed Reformation, and if I would say who should be put out, and who put in their Places it should be done ; I told him I beg'd his Pardon, that was none of my Buisness, nor would I in the least intermeddle in a thing of that Nature. However, he got Instructions from others ; the New Charter was cancell'd, and another sent of the same Import, only altering the Persons, and by it all the Dissenters of note in the City were brought into the Government, the Seniors to be Aldermen, and the

Juniors Common Council men, and Sir Thomas Stanley, Mayor. This Charter was brought down, and the Persons call'd together to have notice of it, and to have the time fix'd for their being sworn. But they, like true Englishmen unanimously refus'd it, and desir'd that the Ancient Charter might be restor'd, tho' they knew none of them would come into Power by that, but many of them that were their bitter enemies would be restor'd by it. This I take to be a memorable Instance both of the Modesty of the Dissenters, and a proof how far they are from an affectation of Power, the top of their Ambition being to live quiet and peaceable Lives in the free exercise of their Religion according to their Consciences, As also to their inviolable Fidelity to the Rights and Liberties of their Country. Accordingly the old Charter was restor'd in the same state wherein it was when the Tories surrender'd it, by which Alderman Street was Mayor, and Mr. Robert Murry Sheriff, his Partner Mr. Welands (?) being dead.

Upon the Glorious Revolution in the later end of 1688, many, very many that were forc'd to flee out of Ireland for their safety took up their abode here, and among them many Dissenters who joyn'd themselves to us; their Ministers going for London: these added much to our numbers. In July, 1690, after the Battle at the Boyn, Dublin was reduc'd, they return'd.

In the month of May, 1689, the Act of Parliament was pass'd for the establishing of our Liberty. Jun. 6 I kept a Day of Thanksgiving for it, and preach'd on *Hos.* ii. 4, *I was unto them as one that taketh off the* *yoke on their jaws, and I laid meat unto them.* And at the next Quarter Sessions after held for this City, Mr. Harvy and I qualified ourselves for the benefit of the Toleration, according to the Terms prescribed by the Act: and certified the places of our Meeting: and some time after divers private Houses in the City and Country were certified that they might be us'd for the Baptizing of Children, or meetings of private Christians for Prayer, and Repetitions of Sermons.

July 8, 1689, my honor'd Friend Mr. Edward Greg dy'd of a Fever. He was the most active man in forming our Society, and in bringing me hither, was my faithful Friend and prudent Counsellor, a Gentleman of very good Sense, and great usefulness, an eminent Example of Serious Piety, and one that made it his Buisness to do good. We had an unexpressible Loss of that good man, in the midst of his daies, about 38 years of age. I preach'd his Funeral Sermon on Acts 13. 36. *David after he had served his own generation by the will of God fell asleep, and was laid to his Fathers.* About the same time within a very few daies dy'd his mother Greg, and his Cosin Greg, a widow. And many others of note in the Congregation dy'd about that time of a contagious Fever: Mr. Bristow, Mr. Whittle, Mr. Philip Williams, Mr. Vanbrugh (a zealous good man), and my very worthy Friend, Mr. Kenwick, in October following. For (?) a year and a half after I came scarce any of the congregation dy'd, but this year we were broken with Breach upon Breach.[1]

[1] 1690, April 14. "Wednesday, I was present at the funeral of Mrs. Kirks, at Chester. Brother preached immediately after, on

In the beginning of the year Mr. Swinton, Mr. Clark, my dear wife, Mrs. Bradburn, John Low of Stapleford, and those before mentioned (who were Hearers with us, tho' not all Communicants) before the years end, with many others.

WRITTEN IN 1712.

In the winter of 1689 we set up a private conference[1] at Bro^r^. Hilton's, manag'd with all the seriousness, and yet with all the agreeable freedom we could; the Question was propos'd before, which each spoke to at our coming together, and I sum'd up all at last, and we began and concluded with Prayer: This exercise we have kept up every winter, except twice or thrice, ever since: for some time the elder members of the Congregation assisted in it, but they growing weary of it of late years, I took the younger.

In the year 1690 and for some years after we had publick Fasts[1] appointed by Authority the second

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Luke xvi. 9—*That when ye fail.* . . . This night my father came to Chester.

Thursday. My father preached and baptized brother Henry's child Elizabeth, in the face of a full assembly. This night we all —sisters and brothers—slept at brother Henry's, where, afterwards, we went up to sister's chamber, and my father prayed with his ten children."

[1] "1697. Tuesday, April 27, I went to Chester to spend a few days and enjoy my dear relations.

28th. A public fast appointed by authority for our whole nation to be humble before God—to pray, and seek his face, if so be that he will yet be entreated of us—that the issue of this summer's proceedings may be an honourable, comfortable peace to all Europe. . . . I was affected with a plea of dear brother's

Wednesday in every month, from about April to October, which we observed very solemnly, and had very large collections at them, which was distributed mostly to the poor Strangers here for Ireland; many of whom staid behind for some time, tho' the greater part return'd soon after the victory at the Boyn and the Reduction of Dublin in July, 1690.

When those monthly fasts were dropt, yet we have kept up constantly a Fast which we have call'd a Congregational Fast,[1] and never omitted it to this day (that I remember), except a National Fast happening about the same time interfer'd with it. I often carry'd on the work of those daies alone, but for these last few years Mr. Jonathan Harvy first, then Mr. Lea, and of late Mr. Robert Murry have assisted in it, and we have had collections at these Fasts which have been dispos'd of in the Rent and repairing of our Place, or its Appurtenances, in the Relief of many of our own Poor, but specially of poor Strangers with Letters Recommendatory, or Passes, and to answer all Briefs brought us til by Act of Parlia-

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in one prayer this day, 'Lord, whilst each of the confederate princes is taking care for his own interest, and securing of that, will not thou take care of *thy* people, and *thy* interest?'

Friday Evening. Many good people met at brother Henry's to a Christian conference. The subject they are upon is, The benefits flowing from Justification—Adoption—Sanctification, according to the Assembly's Catechism."—Mrs. Savage, Diary.

1706, March 8. Conf. at Bro^{r} Hilton.

Oct. 29. Conf. at Mr. Kirks."—M. H., Diary.

[1] Compare Diary: "1706, Oct. 31. Josh. 5. Congre: fast. I pr. twice, Rom. 15.13: The God of Hope fill you with joy & peace. A very comfortable day we had. Blessed be God."

ment in the 4 and 5 of Q. Ann we were oblig'd to publish Briefs[1] and to make collections upon them.

About the year 1695 I was invited by several Prisoners in the Castle that had layn long there for debt and had no preaching to come sometimes on a week day and preach to them, which I did about once in three weeks, and sometimes oftner, for some years, and afterwards had a collection for them, but upon some change in the Government of the Castle we were oblig'd to lay it down.

In November, 1699, Mr. John Harvy dy'd: His illness was short: He was so well as to baptize a child on the Lord's Day, and dy'd the Tuesday morning following: he was bury'd at the Great Church. Mr Lancaster of Tarporly preach'd his funeral sermon. His congregation chose his son to succeed him, Mr. Jonathan Harvy, who the year before was come from Mr. Frankland's Academy. They had Mr. Lea of Wirral to administer the Lord's Supper to them till the year 1701, when Mr. Jonathan Harvy was ordain'd at Warrington.

In July, 1699, upon the death of Dr. Bates of Hackney, I was unanimously chosen and call'd to that congregation, and was pressed by several Letters to accept the Invitation: but I peremptorily refus'd them.

In April, 1699, my dear and honor'd Brother in Law Dr. Tylston dy'd of a Fever in the 38th year of his Age; he was a great ornament to our Congregation.

[1] See p. 164.

Our old meeting-place at the White-Friars we found inconvenient upon many accounts; our good friend Mr. Anthony Henthorn remov'd to Ireland about 1692, his son Samuel dy'd in 1695, and his g'son John did not countenance us as he had done. Most Places had built them new Chappels, so it was agreed that we should build one, and ground was purchas'd for that purpose. The Foundation was laid in Sept., 1699, and in February following the Building was set about in good earnest and was finish'd about July. Many contributed largely and liberally to it. Mr. Kirkes took a deal of care and pains in making bargains with workmen, and overseeing the work, and my brother Hilton in the collecting and paying of the money, which he did with so much prudence and diligence that within a little while after it was finish'd, everything was paid for, and the Congregation in debt to no body. We[1] enter'd upon it in August, 1700, when we had been above 13 years in the old Chappel. I preach'd the first sermon in it on a Lecture day on Josh. 22. 22, 23, "The Lord God of Gods, he knows if it be in rebellion or transgression against the Lord that we have built us an altar." It is a very commodious, capacious, pleasant place, and many a comfortable Day we have had in it. Blessed be God.

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[1] "I had a comfortable day joining with that assembly in holy ordinances. In the forenoon, Brother went on in expounding gospel Psalms, such as especially look at Christ. To-day Psalm lxix. We had the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper (the first in the new Chapel) administered. . . . He told us that much of religion lies in the eye of a believing soul being fixed on an all-seeing God. The subject was 2 Cor. xiii. 5, *Examine yourselves whether ye be in the faith.*"—Memoirs of Mrs. Sarah Savage.

In 1701, at the request of some of Mr. Harvy's congregation, I engag'd to preach his Preparation sermon once a month, and he in lieu of it to preach at our quarterly Fast, and our Lecture when at any time I happen'd to be abroad, which we continued to do, while he continued his public work.

In 1702 I was invited and earnestly press'd to succeed Mr. Nathaniel Taylor at Salter's Hall, and there being some contest both sides intimated they would agree in me, but I gave them both a denial.

In September, 1706,[1] Mr. Jonathan Harvy finding himself weak in body, and his work difficult to him,

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[1] "I have had many searchings of heart about Mr. Harvey's congregation who come dropping in to us. As I have endeavoured, in that matter, to approve myself to God, and my own conscience; and my heart doth not reproach me; so, blessed be God, I hear not of any person, one or other that doth."—M. H., Diary, quoted by Williams, but undated.

The following has been hitherto unpublished :—

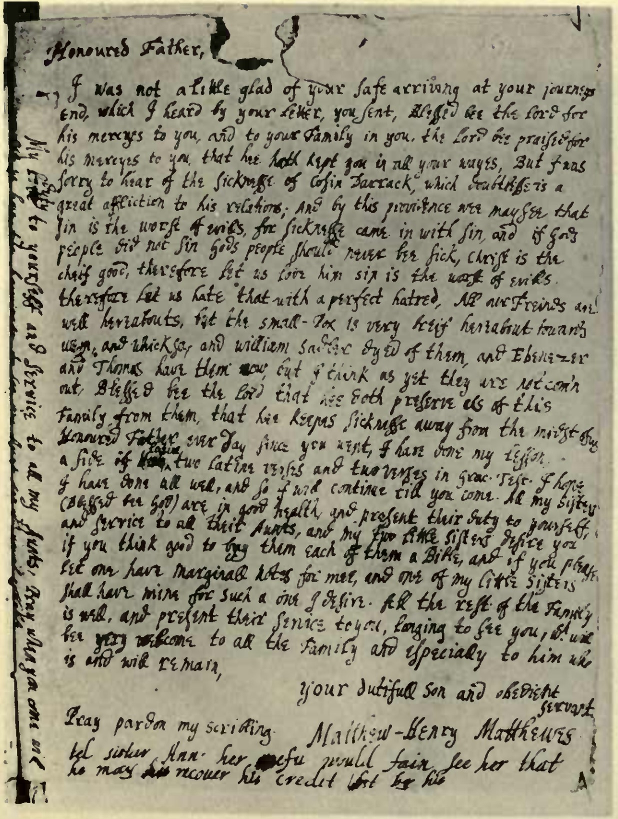
"1706, Sept. 26. . . . This Eve Mr. Harvey told me that his pple haveing neglected to secure the house he had for there place of meeting till twas too late, & not haveing been so as now they seem to be to percure him another, he was determined to part from em.

29. Lords d. Exp. 2 Chron. 20, Gal. 2. pr. 22. 22, Receive I pray y^{e} law. Mr. Harvys people with us & many strangers."

On the same page, but undated :—

". . . of Mr. Harvys Congregation y^{er} joined with us at y^{e} Sact. in November—

George Booth, Esqr.
Alderman Murry, his son & two daughters.
Mrs. Parry and her youngest daughter.
Mrs. Farrington and her daughter.
Mrs. Holland.



Honoured Father,

I was not a little glad of your safe arriving at your journeys end, which I heard by your letter, you sent, Blessed bee the Lord for his mercyes to you, and to your Family in you. the Lord bee praised for his mercyes to you, that hee hath kept you in all your wayes, But I was sorry to hear of the sicknesse of Cosin Barrack, which doubtlesse is a great affliction to his relations; And by this providence wee may see that sin is the worst of evils, for sicknesse came in with sin, and if Gods people did not sin Gods people should never bee sick, Christ is the chief good, therefore let us love him sin is the worst of evils. therefore let us hate that with a perfect hatred, All our Freinds are well hereabouts, but the small-Pox is very brief hereabout towards Wem, and Whicksey and William Sadler dyed of them, and Ebenezer and Thomas have them now, but I think as yet they are not come out, Blessed bee the Lord that hee doth preserve us of this Family from them, that hee keeps sicknesse away from the midst of us. Honoured Father ever day since you went, I have done my lesson. a side of Latin, two Latin verses and two verses in Greac. Test. I hope I have done all well, and so I will continue till you come. All my sisters (Blessed bee God) are in good health, and present their duty to yourself, and service to all their Aunts, and my two little sisters desire you if you think good to buy them each of them a Bible, and if you please let one have marginall notes for mee, and one of my little sisters shall have mine for such a one I desire. All the rest of the Family is well, and present their service to you, longing to see you, who will bee very welcome to all the Family and especially to him who is and will remain,

Your dutifull Son and obedient servant

Matthew-Henry Matthewes

Pray pardon my scribling.

tel sister Ann: her nefu would fain see her that he may recover his credit lost by his

My Duty to yourself and Service to all my Aunts, Pray when you come wee

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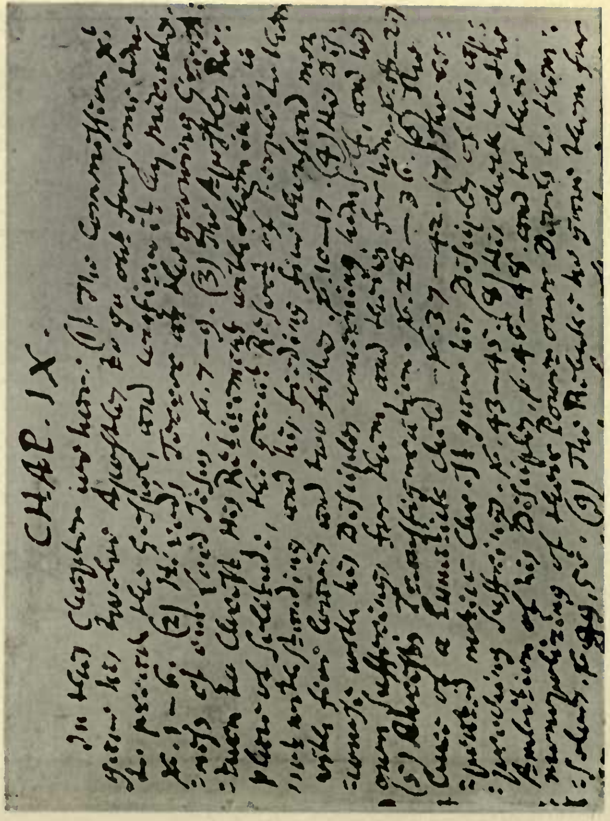

CHAP. IX.

In this Chapter we have:- (1) The Commission X.
gives his twelve Apostles to go out for some time
to preach the Gospel, and confirm it by miracles.
v.1–6. (2) Herod's Terror at the growing Great=
=ness of our Lord Jesus. v.7–9. (3) The Apostles Re=
=turn to Christ, His Retirement with them into a
place of Solitude, the great Resort of People to him
notwithstanding, and his feeding five thousand men
with five loaves and two fishes. v.10–17. (4) His Dis=
=course with his Disciples concerning himself, and his
own sufferings for them, and theirs for him. v.18–27
(5) Christs Transfiguration. v.28–36. (6) The
Cure of a Lunatick child. v.37–42. (7) The re=
=peated notice Christ gives his Disciples of his ap=
=proaching Sufferings. v.43–45. (8) His check to the
Ambition of his Disciples, v.46–48. and to their
monopolizing of their Power over Devils to them=
=selves. v.49, 50. (9) The Rebuke he gave them for

upon occasion of some disagreement with the landlady of his house in which they met let fall his meeting: and about Christmas following the greatest part of his congregation, some at one time and some at another, came into Communion with us; but many of them with an express Protestation that if he resumed the meeting they would return to him.

In May, 1707 we built a Gallery to our meeting place,[1] for the greater convenience of Mr. Harvy's Congregation that join'd with us. And now I reckon we came to be above 350 communicants, and about 300 ordinarily present. And blessed be God, a great deal of comfort and unanimity among us, and my ministry well accepted; for which I praise the Lord.

In Oct. 1706, my first volume of Expositions on the Bible came out,[2] and in Aug. 1708, the 2nd, and in July 1710 the 3rd, Laus Deo. Ps. 115. 1.

Mrs. Radford.
Mrs. Hiccock."

"November, 1706. 3. Lords d. A good day; . . . refresht at the Table of the Lord. Admitted Mrs. Abigal Holland."

This would be the time of admittance of the others.

[1] For list of Contributors see p. 248 f.

[2] The following relating to the Commentary will be of interest:—

"January, 170$\frac{5}{6}$.

2. Wrote Numbers 2 for A specimen of my Exposition, and sent it to Parkhurst, he desireing it, that if anything be amiss, I may be Advertised of it.

March 8. . . . had Letters from the Booksellers and my friends at London to urge me to send up what I have done of the Pent.

9. Wrot to Parkh.

July 5. . . . Heard from Mr. E. y^t y^e Exposit. is pretty

In the beginning of 1709 I was invited and importunately urg'd by the Congregation that was Mr. Howe's to succeed Mr. Spademan, but I peremptorily deny'd them. I had never been in London but twice since I came to Chester. Once in 1698, when I staid there but two Lord's daies, and once in 1704, when I staid there but three.

In April, 1708 my good Friend and Brother Mr. Jonathan Harvey dy'd : about 30 years of age.

About Midsummer, 1710, I had a letter from the Congregation at Hackney signifying to me that they had unanimously chosen me to be their Minister, in the room of Mr. Billio who was lately dead of the small-pox, and to desire that I would accept their Invitation ; in

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forward in the press. Lord help me in what I have under hand.

"Aug. 18. Allmost finished Deut. 34. Tis about a year & 9 months since I began with Gen. Blessed be God y^{t} has helped me. I have written it with a great deal of pleasure, but my thoughts of publishing it have been with fear and trembling.

September 9, read 18 or 19 sheets on Gen. to mark y^{e} Errata. I have reason to be ashamed of my own errata.

November 12. Y^{s} even I receiv'd the last of the sheets on the Pentat. & in them the Epistle by Mr. Showers & Mr. Tong w^{ch} I knew not of, not ever mention'd or thought of till I heard from Mr. Parkh. that they had perfixt it."—M. H., Diary.

"1706, Nov. 30, Saturday. This week we received Brother Henry's new Annotations on the five books of Moses.

"1726, November 22, Tuesday Morning. I redeemed time early for my closet, and had the comfort of it. I began the book of Deuteronomy with brother's Annotations. Many excellent things. I remember my dear mother, when the book of Annotations came to her, said she began with Deuteronomy, and gave this reason : 'I shall not live to read the whole, therefore, I take this which is the summary of the rest.'"—Mrs. Savage, Diary.

prosecution of which they told me I should find them as the importunate widow that would have no nay. I several times deny'd them, at length they wrote to me they would some of them come down hither : to prevent which, I being not unwilling to take a London journey, in the interval between my 3rd and 4th vol. I wrote them word I would come up to them, and did so in the middle of July,[1] but was down again before the first

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[1] Two letters to his wife may well be copied here. The one of Tuesday night, undated, seems to come first. The seal has carried off some of the writing with it.

Tuesday Night.

MY OWN DEAR,

I bless God I am (? again myself). Sabbath day was extremely hot but (? I am) not at all the worse for the work, no not in the least (? hoarse). Yesterday I breakfasted with Mrs. Merryweather, din'd with S^{r} Tho. O., and supt with Mr. Lawrence the Bookseller. To-day I preach'd the Merchant's Lecture at Salters Hall, and din'd with divers ministers at Mr. Hunts. Among the rest Mr. Burgess was there, to whom I shew'd the enquiry in your Letter concerning him. He is very hearty & well, and made us very merry, Chid me that I did not bring you up with me, was very pressing about my coming to Hackney, told me 'twas my Duty. Mrs. Hunt the Merchant's Lady is so, and gives her service to you. I have sup't to-night with one Mr. Bell, a Bookseller, in company with the Gentleman that writes the Observator, who is a very ingenious but (?) serious man. There I staid til near ten, so that I have not time to enlarge, my dear Love, blessing to the children; remember me kindly to all my friends. My Nephew is well and sends his Duty to his Mother, &c. I hope to send him on Friday with Mr. Hill the English Min^{r} at Rotterdam. I am to go to Hackney to-morrow, and to dine with my Lord James Russel on Thursday.

But I long to be at home with thee.

I rest
Thine own dear
M. H.

Lord's day in August. There I laid myself open to the Temptation by increasing my Acquaintance in the City. They follow'd me after I came down with Letters to me

London, July 27, 1710.

MY DEAR LOVE,

It was some disappointment to me that I had never a Letter from Chester yesterday. I bless God I continue very well tho' more hurry'd this week than last. Yesterday I went to Hackney. Mr. Bell fetcht me and sent me back in his own Coach. I preach'd to a great Auditory, and visited several of the Gentlemen, and at parting they gave me ten Guineas for my journey, and Mrs. Cook by herself gave me one. That was good pay for three sermons.

My Nephew's Departure is now fix'd much to my Satisfaction. He is to take coach very early to-morrow morning for Harwich in company with Mr. Hill, the Minister of the English Church at Rotterdam, who has promis'd me to take care of him til he commits him to my Friend Mr. Milling, Min^r^ of y^e^ English Church at Leyden ; He has a good heart on his journy, and I hope it will do well. My Lady Ward gave him a Guinea, and her two Daughters each of them a Guinea. To-day I waited on my Lady Ward to return her thanks, and sat a good while with her. I din'd with my Lady Russel and preach'd Mr. Cotton's Lecture this evening, and afterwards made a visit to my Lord Paget, who tells me there's a necessity of my coming to London. He gives me but a melancholy Prospect of publick affairs that they are likely to go on with the Changes, & we shal certainly have a New Parl^t^, & then the Fr. K. may make peace upon what terms he pleases. But my Lord P. comforted himself with this that God governs the world. I forgot to tell thee last post of the Death of Mrs. Mohun, my Lord Mohun's sister. (I take it to be the Lady that my Bro. Warburton admir'd and kept up a correspondence with.) She dy'd on Tuesday of a Fever, with this aggravation that she was made up to be marry'd to Mr. Fortescue, the Gentleman that lodgeth at Mr. Moreton's ; was to have been marry'd that day she dy'd. . . . I am to dine to-morrow at Mrs. Kenrick's ; Mrs. Murry gives her service to you ; She knows not what to say between and the Congregation. In October I wrote them that if they would stay for me till next Spring (which I was in hopes they would not have done) I would come up

London and Chester. She saith she shal set her face homewards next week or the week after, but cannot come with me, for she shal make some stay in Warwickshire. The coach that I shal come in next week goes through Nantwich, not through Whitchurch. Sir Henry Ashurst comes to Town to-morrow, so that I must bestow Saturday intirely upon him. I have nothing more to add, but my dear love to thyself and the children, and my kind respects to all my Friends. I hope to have a letter from thee to-morrow, and that will be the last I can have. But thou shalt have one or two more from me. God almighty have thee in his keeping.

I am,
Thine own affectionately,
M. HENRY.

Hackney, July 26, 1711.

DEAR SISTER,

I return you many thanks for your kind letter, and all your care of our little folks. It is a satisfaction to us to hear they are well, that they are under God's Ey, and under yours tho' not under ours. My wife, I bless God, is very well, has a good Stomach, and sleeps well. She is affectionately remembered to you, and yours. I have desir'd the Advice of the Ministers as to my Case, and what Advice they will give me I know not, but till I know I do not determin. God has been much and often sought unto for direction in it, I hope in sincerity, and he doth not use to say to his people seek in vain. I doubt not but God hath mercy in store for the Congregation at Chester. They are a serious loving People, and however he disposeth of me I believe they shal be planted and not plucked up. If I should determin at last to remove hither I would not do it suddenly after I had determin'd it; and should it come to that, it would be on no other consideration but in hopes that God has some good work to do by me here, where I meet wth much respect and encouragement. Mrs. L. H. was marry'd to Mr. Birch last Thursday, and make a longer stay for mutual Trial. They wrote to me they would wait till then. In May, 1711, I went to them and staid till the end of July, and before I

and to-day they set out for Hereford where he is Recorder. . . . I hope Phil will write to us by Mr. Kenrick. . . . We shall be down towards the later end of next month if the Lord will. Remember me to Bro^r and Sister Hilton, to Son, D^tr Witter, Cos. Kirkes's, and all our Friends.

I am,
Your affectionate Bro^r,
M. H.

This was the pathetic time of Matthew's life.

"I have upon my knees in secret acknowledged to the Lord that I am in distress, in a great strait. I cannot get clear from Chester; or if I could, cannot persuade myself cheerfully to go. I cannot get clear from Hackney; or if I could, I cannot persuade *uxorem meam* cheerfully to stay."—M. H., Diary, Lord's Day, December 16, 1711.

The following letter to his wife may illustrate the words in Latin, "my wife"; and has other interests of its own. The year is uncertain: but probably between 1694–1700.

Chester, Apr. 25.

MY DEAR HEART,

I am glad to hear thou art well & the child, but very sorry to hear that dissatisfactions remain in the family, and I perceive so by sister's letter to Mr. Hard[? ware] w^ch he shew'd me, for truly he is respectful to me, was with me yesterday, and obliged me to go with him to Mr. Booth. I would have thee to study to be obliging to both sides, and prithee be not disobliging or cross with either. They are in relation to thee, and thou wouldst be more easy both to thyself and them couldst thou learn to put the best construction that may be upon words and actions, and do not create grievances to thyself. Whoever hath the power at Grange why should we be industriously estranged from them. I would hope that my brother would marry and bring a portion w^ch would set things to rights. You may tell him I have made some finish'd with them signified to them my acceptance of their Invitation, and my purpose God willing to come to them the Spring following. The Ministers there had many of them given it under their Hands that they thought it advisable and for the greater good and a more extensive usefulness that I should remove to Hackney. However I was determined to deny them at Hackney, and had deny'd them, but that Mr. Gunston, Mr. Smith, and some others came to me from London, and beg'd of me for the sake of the publick that I would

further enquiry about the Lady I mention'd to him, which he sent to me to hearken further after. 'Tis Mrs. Hough's niece and I hear her portion will be in land, which will not be agreeable to him. I would have him look no further til he hath been deny'd at Aston, and be y^{e} portion what it will, with any daughter of that house methinks he should close with it.

What do you think of Mrs. Jane Thelwall—I could wish he had her. I and my daughter are very well, blessed be God, but we both long for you home. I find Katy would rather be with you than where she is, though she is extremely fondled there. Mr. Arthur Newcome surpris'd them there yesterday, he looks as big as you can imagin him to look in a long wig, but Mrs. Betty is very shy of him w^{ch} offends him greatly. I preach'd at the Castle yesterday, and have been spending some time this morning with the poor man that is to be hang'd this afternoon. 'Twas a melancholy thing to hear him give orders for the making of his own grave. My service to Bro^{r}. & Sisters & dear love to thyself & Nessy. I am

Thine affectionately,

M. H.

I hope y^{u}. will receive wth. y^{is}. y^{e} muslin from Bro^{r}. Radford, I have taken orders about it. If Sister should say anything of having her cloth for hers. & y^{u}. from Mr. Burroughs's, y^{u}. can tell her how he served my Father Hardware who had been so long his customer.

not deny them, which was the thing that turn'd the scale. I never had been till that journey so much as one first Lord's day of a month out of Chester since I came to it 24 years ago. By this Determination I have brought upon myself more Grief and Care and Concern than I could have imagin'd, and have many a time wish'd it undone again, but having open'd my mouth I could not go back; I did with the utmost impartiality, if I know anything of myself, beg of God to incline my heart that way which would be most for his Glory, and I trust I have a good Conscience willing to be found in the way of my Duty; wherein I have done amiss the Lord forgive me for Jesus sake! and make this change concerning the Congregation to work for good to it!

[1] May 12: 1712. Mr. Henry to the great greife of his congregation and many other his friends in Chester left Chester and set out for Hackney to take the Pastorall charge of that congregation, & left the congregation at Chester unprovided, only they had a prospect of prevailing with Mr. Blackmore of Worcester (who had preach'd amongst them & given them encouragement to expect him) to bee their pastor, but hee after holding them long in suspence sent them a letter in Octob^{r} following wch some tooke for a denyall & others lookt upon as dubious answer—such as his former Letters had been which occasioned a meeting of the Congregation—Octob^{r} 21, when it was determined by the far Major part of those present to take Mr.

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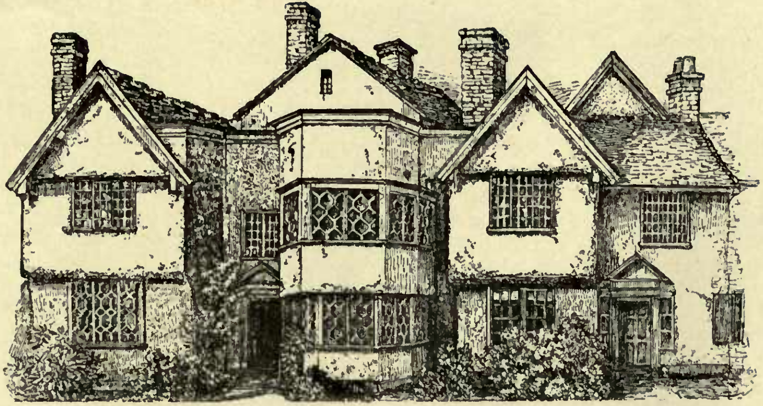
[1] From Chapel-book.



[*To face p.* 101.

Blackmores answer for a denyall & to desire those entrusted by the Congregation to manage this affayr relateing to a Minister to write to Mr. Aldred of Monton to request him to take on him the pastorall care & charge of the Congregation of Protestant Dissenters at Chester.

The letter was Subscribed by Robert Murry, Timothy Deane, John Holland, John Hulton, Thomas Robinson, Edward Hinks, John Yeoman, Ralph Sudlow, Octob^{r} 22. & sent by Richard Humphryes Octob^{r} 24.

Mr. Henry's labours were not lightened by his change of sphere ; but, according to agreement, he visited Chester and the scenes of his late "overseership." Returning on the second annual visit he only reached Nantwich, where he died, in the house of his former student, the Rev. Mr. Mottershead. He had been in ill health for some time, and at Chester it was said by his friend Mr. Sudlow, the apothecary, they would never see him again.

But they did not think to see his funeral procession pass under the Eastgate, and the body lodged in Trinity Church, in their city.

"A life spent in the service of God, and communion with him, is the most comfortable life any one can live in this world."—M. H.

CHAPTER V

FROM DIARY,[1] 1706

JAN. 1, $170\frac{5}{6}$.

It is of the Lords Mercys that I am not consum'd.

By night on my bed I endeavor'd to seek him whom my Soul loveth, and begin this New Year

1. *earnestly* praying for the *Graces* of the year with a humble Submission to the *Blessed Spirit of God.*

O that I may some way or other Glorifye God this

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[1] From an MS. copy of Mrs. Esther Bulkeley (? Nessy of Chap. IV.). It contains Jan., March, April, and from May to December.

By the kindness of Mr. George Holt, who allowed me access to the original book, some entries in the "Minutes of the Cheshire Ministers" are here given, which serve to show the esteem in which Mr. Henry was held, besides being pertinent to his change of sphere.

"Aug. 8. 1710 . . . Afterwards when the Ministers were assembled together in the meeting house, Mr. Henry acquainted them with the importunity severall of the Dissenting ministers in London urg'd him to remove from Chester unto a congregation in Hackney near London. (a further account whereof may be given afterwards.)

May 1. 1711. Mr. Henry preach'd. There was some further discourse among y^e Ministers concerning Mr. Henry's removal from Chester to Hackney, & it was concurred that he should go year! That I may live this year to some purpose, to better purpose than I lived the last. O that no temptation may so overtake me as to Overcome me.

To the conduct of the Divine Grace which is I know sufficient for me I here solemnly resign my self—my Thoughts and Affections, my Will, and all the intents of my Heart, to be directed into the right way and kept and quickened in it. Let me this year receive Grace for Grace,

2. patiently waiting for the Events of the year with a humble submission to the *Holy Will of God*. I know not what the year may bring forth, but it shall bring forth nothing amiss to me, if God be my God in covenant—if it bring forth Death that shall I trust quite *finish sin*, and free me from it, Lord let thy servant depart in Peace, according to thy Word. I commit my Family to my heavenly Father. God even

to Hackney according to his promise & stay there some months, wh. accordingly he did.

Next Meeting, 1st Tuesday Aug. 1711. Mr. Angier to be Moderator if he come, or else, Mr. Henry.

Aug. 7. 1711. Mr. Henry preach'd (for Mr. Sydebottom was excus'd).

Mr. Henry acquainted his Brethren that he purpos'd if (God) will to remove from Chester to Hackney next Spring, apprehending that he had a clear call to y^{t} place. The next meeting was appointed to be on y^{e} 1st Tuesday in May, 1712, but the day is since alter'd at y^{e} request of Mr. Henry, & for his conveniency. Mr. Henry again preach'd (for Mr. Sydebottom was again excus'd) *Lo I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.*

May 5, 1713. Some of the congregation at Middlewich were present here, & petitioned y^{e} Ministers of this Class that they w$^{d.}$ write to our dear & Rev$^{d.}$ Brother Mr. Henry, & earnestly request him to use his endeavour at London to procure some assistance towards the maintenance of their minister: He being not able to subsist without some further augmentation. And in compliance with the desire of y^{e} fore mention'd, a Letter was written & sent to London.

my own God, my Father's God, my Children's God, O pour thy Spirit upon my seed, thy Blessing, that Blessing, that Blessing of Blessings upon my offspring, that they may be praising God on Earth when I am praising him in heaven. Amen. Amen.

January, 170$\frac{5}{6}$.

1. Renew'd my engagements to God early in the morning. Studyd and preach'd A Sermon to young people from 2 Chr. 1. 10, Give me now wisdom, at Mr. Robinsons, Mrs. Burkes, Mr. Kendricks.—My wife still indisposed, and my self with a cold, that has hung on me a good while.

3. Study'd and preached the Lecture Mark 4, 39, Peace, be still. The Manchester men with me about Mr. Benyons going thither. I have had many thoughts concerning it, and have endeavor'd to seek God for him, that his way may be made plain one way or other.

9. At Br. O. with Tenants there, but payments very slowly made as ever. Mr. Benyion there who saith he has promised to go to Manchester. The Manch. pple

Aug. 4. 1713. Mr. Henry present & preach'd. *For though I be absent from you in the flesh, yet am I with you in the spirit.*

Mr. Withington was a candidate.

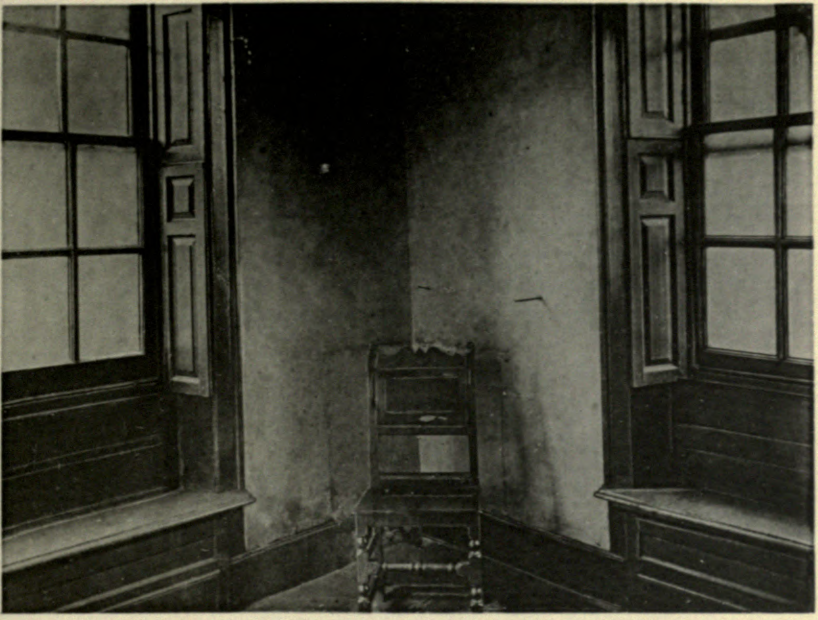
May 4. 1714 . . . Gardner present. Mr. Withington a candidate.

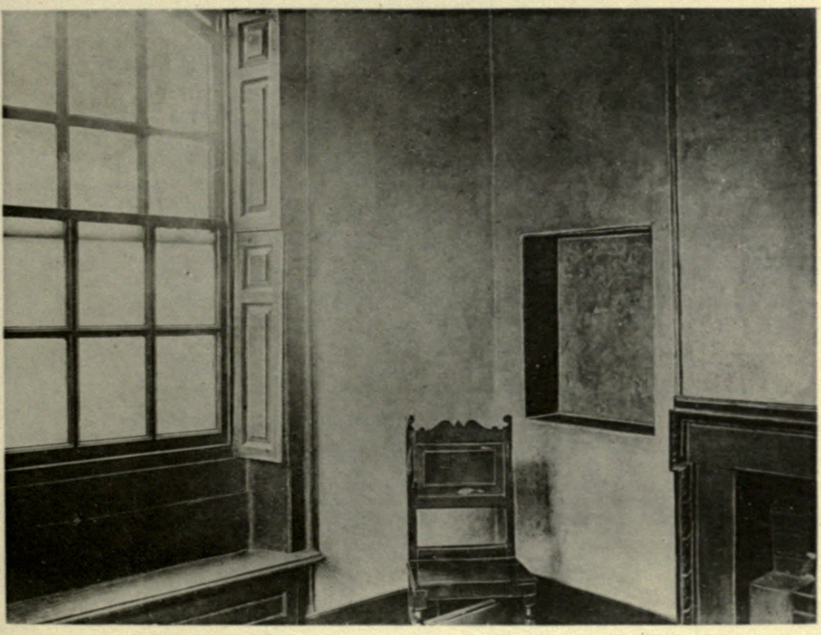
Mr. Henry and Mr. Tongue expected to be in the county. Mr. Henry to give the exhortation. Mr. Tongue to preach the ordination sermon.

Next Meeting 1st Tuesday in Aug. Mr. Gardner desir'd to preach.

June 22$^{d.}$ 1714. It pleased God to remove by death y^{t} pious faithful laborious minister of the Gospel, Mr. Matthew Henry.

Aug. 3. 1714. Mr. Peter Withington ordained . . . by the imposition of hands of Mr. Gardner and others."





went & told him that I was willing if he was, therefore he refer'd it to me ; they told me he was willing if I was, so I refer'd it to him. However I may be blamed I have acted herein to the best of my judgment with an eye to God's Glory & the publick good.

30. Finish'd Num. 14. Sr. John Chetwood with me. Mr. Sulfield here, prosecuted in the Brs. Court for not reading the whole Liturgy.

31. Mr. R. Key son of Mr. Key a Nonconformt Minister at Walton, near Preston Lane, a witty young man, sometime pupil to Mr. Franklin and Mr. Chorlton ; about 3 years agoe, thinking himself too good to be a Nonconformt. went to Cambridge, maintain'd at Kathn Hall by Mr. Hourdley's means : now in Chester prest for a soldier, and hurried to Ireland. The Lord is righteous.

MARCH.

Fryday 1st. Num. 22 & 23. Mr. Kirby with me. His hints give small encouragement to Dr. Benyon to go to Manchester. . . . Yesterday morning Mr. Thos. Coopers wife died, after long weakness. She had been a merry woman, but Death will not be banter'd. Not 30 years old.

Old John Southern dye'd this morning ; long acquainted with the ways of God ; could not read, yet knowing in the Scriptures and zealous. I hope finish'd well.—Preparation at my house.

2. Study'd for to morrow, in much weakness,—in the evening follow'd John Southern to his grave.—I am invited to morrow to the banquet of wine.

5. Stud. Went to Mickeldale—expounded Eph. 5, preach'd Prov. 28. 6. . . . My wife much indisposed as often. The Parliament is taking into Cognizance the Growth of Popery.

6. Num. 23. 24. . . . Wrote to Middlewich people

about a Minister. . . . One Mr. Pollock with me, a young minister from Ireland going for London. Spent time with him ; so that I have done but little to day at my work. The Lord accept of my desire to redeem time.

20. This even about 8 at night a strange sign was in the air, a long train of Light, in a clear & perfectly unclouded sky, about the breadth of a rainbow from E. to W. arch-wise. It continued about half an hour & disappear'd gradually. It seem'd above y^{e} atmosphere. We hope a Token for good.

29. . . . Walked to Fluckers brook to visit R. Helsey, not well.

The 2^{d} of Ap^{l} I baptized privately Mary y^{e} daughter of one Mrs. Mann, a stranger in town ; her husband now in Guiney.

9. Mr. Golborn long a Schoolmaster in Chester, an excellent Scholar, and a very serious good man, dy'd after long weakness of a Palsy.

MAY.

6. Went to Midlewich, a very encouraging appearance there, tho' they have of late labour'd under discouragements : Exp. Ps. 15. pr. Rom. 10. 1. Thence to Knutsford, Mr. Lawr. with me. Many of our Brethren came thither.

7. At Knutsford our Annual Meeting Mr. Harvy pr. Prov. 14. 8. We heard the case of y^{e} Congregation at Whelock whi : is divided from Mr. Sidebottom, &c. : return'd as far as Gr :

8. from Gr : to Darnel. thence to Chester, going out & comeing in preserv'd, but found my wife ill of y^{e} Rash, now epidemical.

9. I hear y^{t} last Mond. Mr. Lawten a Minister in Liverpool dy'd after long weakness. He is y^{e} 2nd of y^{e} 8 y^{t} were ordain'd at Warrington 4 years ago y^{t} are dead.

11. Stud in my sermon. . . . Much hinder'd. . . . I have my hands full. The Lord grant it may be to good purpose.

13. Set out, Mr. Woods with me, for Lancashire, greatly urg'd by my friends, & I hope not seeking my own glory, but his that sent me. Pr. at Warrington; talk'd with some of y^e^ Congre: about Mr. Owen, & they express great forwardness to encourage Mr. Owen's stay among them. Mr. O. pr. at Liverpool, pr. Mr. Lawton's funeral serm. this day. He was buried at Tox^th^ Park Chap. Last Friday I was at Mr. Naylors at Leigh, who received me with much respect; to Chowbent with divers of my friends who love me & whom I love, lay at Mr. Morts. He went towards London this day.

14. Mr. Cheny & Alred came to us, returned Mr. Cheney his papers concerning Excommunication—pre at Chowbent, cast y^e^ bent net among abundance of fish. Oh that some may be inclosed. Exp. Job 25, pr. Acts 20. 24. . . . None of these things move me. Refresht with the company of my frds, went forward this Even to Shaw Place, my Lord Willoughby's House near Rivington, Mr. Alred, Mr. Wood, Mr. Valentine with me. My Lord is a very grave, serious Gentlem, speaks with savour of divine things, y^e^ 21st peer of his family, w^ch^ was advanc't to y^e^ peerage in 1316, but y^e^ estate gone. This Lord lately purchas'd Shaw Place, his wife a sister of Lord Leigh's, Wid. of S^ir^ Will^m^ Egerton, her Jointure at Worseley, the best part of his Estate. She has a daughter, Mad^m^ Egerton lives with her.

15. pr. at Rivington. Exp. Is. 12. pr. 1 Cor. 1. 3. Staid at Lord Willough.; he shewed much respect to me. His lady & Daughter much for y^e^ Ch.

16. Came to Hindley near Wigan. Another numerous Congregation. Exp. Ps. 32. preach'd Mark 9. 23. Mr. Crook built that Chapel. He met

us there. We call'd at Abram. Mr. Crook and Mr. Wood brought me on my way to Warrington. I have received much respect from my frds. for which I desire to bless God, and am ashamed to think how unworthy I am of it. I came home in safety, praised be God, late this night, not in the least weary with my Journey or Work. And my tabernacle I found in peace.

17. Return'd to my work at home. Deut. 1. Stud and preach'd at Mr. Harvy's Ps. 63. 8. Wrote to Mrs. M. K.

18. Wrote to Aunt Ann Henry. Made several Appointments for Work. The Lord make me busy while working time lasts. Wrote to Salop, where I hear Dr. Benion is unanimously chosen. News came this Evening of a great Victory obtained by the Duke of M. over the French in Flanders last L'ds day.

19. L'ds day. Exp. 2 Chr. 1, 2 Cor. 5, pr. John 6. 45.

20. Deut. 1 & 2. Vis. Mr. Kenrick, Bro. Hilton.

21. This morning in our family worship we finish'd the Old Testament, I think in about 6 years, for our morning work. Blessed be God for the Bible. Went to Wrexam, Mr. Long still weak and ill, yet tis hoped recovering: preach'd the Lecture there Zech. 1. 5. After Sermon baptized publickly Hannah the daughter of Simon Edwards. Conf. at my house. The Duke of Marlborough's Victory appears more and more glorious —but y^{e} particulars not yet come.

24. Deut. 3. 4. Stud but little, being much disturbed in the morning by the sad tydings of the extream illness of my dear friend Mr. Showers; the Lord spare him. Also hinder'd by our Joy in the good news of the D. of Marlborough's success in Brabant.

27. Went to B. O. Thence to Salop. Much struggling about Dr. Benyon's going to Salop. I

think it was not his duty to go, yet he might lawfully go, that it had been as well if he had staid, that his engagements to go were too hasty. And yet that he ought not to be condemn'd or censured for going. Spent the evening after a wet tedious Journey with good Mr. Tallants. The Duke of Marlborough through God doth valiantly.

28. With Mr. Tall^{s} came to Wem, preach'd the Lecture Mark 6. 41. A full Congregation. Thence to B. O.

29. preach'd the Lecture at B. O. What shall the end be. Return'd to Chester.

30. Stud and preach'd the Lect^{r} but much hinder'd, Hos. 9. 5.

31. Here that there is hopes of Mr. Showers Recovery. Study'd, preach'd at John Wain's, Jam. 1. 4.

JUNE.

9. L'ds d. Exp. 2 Chr. 4 & 5, 2 Cor. 6, preach'd 1 Cor. 1. 9. God is faithfull. I have reason to bless God for some encouragement in my ministry, tho I have many discouragm^{ts}.

21. Deut. 12. A Letter from Mr. Evans of the Dissenters addressing the Queen last Monday. Introduced by my L^{d} Treasurer and very kindly received. The first L'^{ds} day of this month admitted to the L^{ds} table my Daughter Kath^{n} & my two neices, Sarah Savage, & Mary Radford.

Mr. Benjamin Dod, son of Mr. Dod, Linnen Draper in Cornhill, nephew to Mr. Thos. Dod of Bella Hill, receiving a hurt by a fall off his horse in Ap^{l} last, he having oft drank a Health to Sorrel y^{e} horse y^{t} threw K. Will^{m} (of which he dyed soon after) made his will some time before, wherein among other things he leaves 24 to attend his funeral at Hackney, to have each of em Gloves, a Ring, and a Bottle of Wine at his funeral, to be buried at 11 Clock at night: each of the 24 to have half a Crown to be spent y^{t} night after —to drink his Soul's Health then on its journey to its purification; in order to eternal rest a Cross to be laid on his Coffin. No Moderate Low Churchman, nor Occasional Conformist to have anything to do at his funeral. This is the High Church.

JULY, 1706.

16. At Salop. Mr. Tallents very well. Dr. Benion settling y^{er} with about 30 students: the small-pox in his family. pr. y^{e} lect. John 15—Y^{t} your fruit shd. remain. Return'd to Bro. O. late & wett.

17. Stud. at Br. O. Went to Wrexh.—a tedious journey, the waters being out and forc'd to go round by Orten: many dangerous places . . . . preach'd 2 Cor. 4. 12. Attempted to return to Ches., but the waters were so out at Marford y^{t} I c^{d} not get over. Y^{e} greatest flood y^{t} has been known: much damage to the country in hay & corn: lay at Travalin.

AUGUST, 1706.

11. Lords-day. This morning we had notice of y^{e} Death of Mrs. Eliz. Maddoxs, a Miliner, sister of Mrs. Robinsons. She came home yesterday even from Lady Salsbury's. Went with her sister & some others to Barrel-well to the Cold Bath. Upon her first going into y^{e} water she fainted away & never spoke. Means were usd, but she dyed y^{er} about two aclock this morn.

13. Deut. 32. Stud. & pr. Mrs. Maddox funeral serm., Gen. 27. 2, I know not the day.

14. Deut. 32 fin. At Home all day. This day my Daughter Sarah is 3 years old, a forward pleasant child, has gone to school some time. The Lord make her a Daughter of Sarah.

15. Deut. 33. Stud. & pr. the Lect., Amos 3. 3. . . . Several have dyed suddenly within this week.

20. Fin. the Review of Deut. . . . Mr. H^{t} of Bor^{n} came to Town.

21. With Mr. H^{t}. I w^{d} rather have 20 such busy days as I had last week than 2 such trifleing days as I have had this : dined at Mr. Kenr. Vis. at Molington in the even with Lord Chief Baron Ward.

23. read in Waltons Prolegom, reviewd part of y^{e} Scrip. Catech. for a 2^{d} Edition ; in the aftern. went to Saiton.

24. A Fatal Day 44 years ago.

26. . . . The Judges came in the Even. & the Sheriff Sir Fra. Leister. Not one criminal in the Castle.

September.

2. Went, my wife with me, to Grange : great wet w^{ch} is God's Controversy with the country at the latter end of Harvest. I left my wife y^{er} & went forward to Manchest^{r}. The waters very high, but going about Gods work, & therefore hid under y^{e} shadow of his wings. Lay at Mr. Bailys. They have yet no minister in Mr. Chorltons room.

3. From Manchester to Duckenfeild, preach'd in Mr. Angiers place Dan. 12. 8. Tinsel people unsatisfied with Mr. Edwards, desired Mr. Garside, who we thought might better continue at Lostock. Mr. Angier has little sight, & solitary, tells me he entertains himself now he cannot see to read, with saying over chapters to himself, & is learning Ps. 119. We lay at Sir Rob^{t} Duckenf.—where y^{er} is a numerous family, fearing God. His eldest son by this Lady desires for the ministry, & is with Mr. Cuningham.

4. From Duckenf. to Stockport, pr. Amos 3. 3. Entertained at Mr. Clough's. We were about 20 ministers. Thence to Maxfield, thro' much wett, at Mrs. Hollingsheds.

5. With my friends at Maxf., pr. Job 13. 15. . . . Return'd to Grange, much refreshed with the Company of my friends and Brethren, whose respects to me God make me thankfull for, & keep me from being proud of.

6. At Grange. Dr. Warburton there. In the Aftern. we came in safety home.

7. Stud. for to Morr. but much hinderd.

10. . . . Last night dyed at Mr. Mainwarings Charles Harlston Esq. in the Northgate Street, in the midst of his days. His illness got by going into Holliwell after hard drinking. Noted for swearing, tis said he was much terrified at the approach of Death.

16. Went to Broad-Oak. Some of the Congregation met me. They are building a meeting place at Whitchurch where there are many Adversarys.

OCTOBER, 1706.

1. Rec^{d}. a letter from the Independent Congregation at Yarmouth to desire I w^{d} persuade Mr. Birch's Congregation at Dean-row to be willing to part with him to them. (See next page.)

8. Went to Wrexh., preachd Heb. 13. 8 : return'd in the even. The Congregation y^{er} unite in Mr. Edw^{d} Kenricks younger brother who, we hope, will do very well. Yesterday in the Eastgate Street a chimney fell into the street (? by the Gate). Some soldiers coming into town my little son was near it, & had it not been for y^{e} soldiers probably had been under it. Blessed be God for his preservation.

13. Stud. With Sir H. A. at Mrs. Mainwareings. In y^{e} even S^{ir} Rich. Allen & Lady came. I hope I can truely say I am not proud of an Acqu^{tce} with great people, but wd. rather condescend to them of low estate. The Lord cloath me with Humility.

DEC. 1706.

9. Josh. 22. Stud. & pr. at Castle, Acts 16. 25. Paul & Silas pray'd.

10. . . . The addresses of the House of Commons speak great Resolutions to carry on the War, & great satisfaction in y^{e} Governm^{t}.

13. Finish Josh. began Judges. . . . The Convocation have now joined in an address to the Queen for only dissenting, in w^{ch} among other things they own the Church in a safe & Flourishing condition.

15. Lords-d. Exp. 2 Chron. 30, Eph. 1, pr. Ps. 19. 10. . . . Phil began last Frid. Eve to be not well & continues so. We expect the measles, bec. they are rife in town. God prepare us for his whole will.

16. Judg. 1. Phil continues not well, bleeds at nose.

17. Judg. 2. Phil ill. The measles come out slowly. I desire to give him up to my heavenly Father, yet praying Father spare my son, my only son whom I love.

[In 1707 Mr. Birch removed to Yarmouth to be co-pastor with Mr. Adam Smith; but to maintain the unity of the congregation, the pastors were both dismissed. "It has been conjectured that they differed in their religious opinions, one of them departing from the ancient creed, the other adhering to it. If this were really the case, it was an early instance of that divergence from the orthodox faith, which a few years after became so common among the Nonconformists" (Urwick).

Mr. Birch became minister of Cross Street, Manchester; Mr. Mottershead (p. 101) succeeded him (1717–1771) and became heterodox. His colleague and son-in-law, Seddon, was "Socinian."]

CHAPTER VI

DISSENT AND DOCTRINE

IN his Calvinism Matthew Henry was moderate.[1] He was of the "middle" sort called "Baxterian," both in his view of Church government and in his half-way position between the extremes of Orthodoxy. He saw the evils in the Antinomian notion of the irreversible heaven for the elect; he looked with suspicion on the possibilities of Arminianism. It is, then, not surprising to find that congregations sought him as a mediating influence. But this position, however honestly held, lays men open to the charge of compromise and of being weak-kneed, and, whilst of practical utility as a temporary working method, precludes them from being either in the van of theological thinkers, or in the ranks of the reforming enthusiast. If we wish to gauge their actual mental standpoint, their "silences" must be often held to speak. For the century, perhaps, the ministers in Matthew Henry's Chapel continued their predecessor's way. They had a call from many men, and divers minds, and their country demanded subscription to doctrinal articles before they could legally respond to the religious needs of their flock. Two only were concerned. Mr. Gardner died in harness in 1765, and Mr. Chidlaw, his assistant for many years, resigned only in 1798. Thus the first three ministers occupied the pulpit for 111 years. Of utterances to their people, during the last 85 years, we have but one sermon extant.

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[1] "Q. 20.

3. Did God particularly design the salvation of a remnant of mankind?—*Yes.* There is a remnant according to the election of grace. Rom. 11. 5.

6. Has God entered into a new covenant, pursuant hereto?—*Yes.* For we are not under law, but under grace. Rom. 6. 14.

9. Does this covenant exclude any that do not exclude themselves?—*No*: Whosoever will, let him come, and take of the water of life freely. Rev. 22. 17."

M. H., "A Scripture Catechism," 1702–8.

For light on the gradual and successive changes of doctrine, which undoubtedly came, we must look on the world without.

This is but a matter of research and selection.. There is, however, a more difficult problem to face. It lies in what is termed "The Open Trust." Volumes have been written on these artless words, and active controversy has not been lessened by the association therewith of the compound and curious term "Non-Subscription." It is with a feeling of hopelessness that we find ourselves compelled to grapple with the subject,—let us add, without being able to clear the decks for action; for the inherent difficulty rather fascinates than repels. To the "plain man" alone we speak.

Nonconformity was tolerated by "An Act exempting their Majesties' Protestant Subjects Dissenting from the Church of England, from the Penalties of certain Laws," which received the royal assent, May the 24th, 1689.

The lawyers, or others, who drew up the Trust-deeds for the permitted chapels, would of themselves, we may presume, use the terms of the Act; and in the Trust-deed of this chapel, drawn in 1701, we find the object of the Act recited, the phrase "Protestant Dissenters" used, and also reference made to further words of the Act: "free liberty to worship God according to their consciences."

Then, we are informed, "Certain persons inhabiting within the said City of Chester had hired a place for the public service of God in the said city, and had and maintained a preaching minister there for several years then last past, but that by reason of the inconvenience of the place, several members of the congregation had agreed to purchase another place more convenient, in Trust, nevertheless, for the said Publick Worship."

The original Lease bears date the 29th, the Re-lease the 30th day of October, 1701.

The simple words "public worship," or "public service of God," or the like, constitute what is called to-day "The Open Trust."

Now, on the one hand, it has been contended that Dissenters, or rather, as the claim has run, the Presbyterians among them, purposely left those simple words unqualified, in order that their successors might be free to worship God according to their own conceptions. This view seems to be taken by Mr. Maurice in Chapter VIII., and has been very general.

Not content with showing that Independents and Baptists had the same "Open Trust," Mr. Walter Lloyd, in his interesting book "Protestant Dissent and English Unitarianism," strenuously combats this idea, and wages particular war against the poor Presbyterian, going near to wipe him clean off the face of the religious earth. He wishes no "Presbyterian ancestors" on any terms. Mr. Manning, in the "History of Upper Chapel," calls them "the most intolerant of all the Dissenters," and quotes the declaration of the Presbyterian Ministers of London in 1645: "We detest and abhor the much endeavoured Toleration." Both writers appear to forget that much had happened since the days of the Establishment of Presbyterianism. We should note that the "Established" model was never general, and that the word Presbyterian came to stand for all who were not Separatists, and even for Dissenters in general. It is idle, for mere controversy sake, or for the purpose of upholding or demolishing a certain theory, to eliminate Presbyterians altogether because of the failure of the Parliamentary model, or to glorify some other Denomination.

Men must accept names as they find them. They are, as Mr. Lloyd says, "a matter of usage"; and a name, without the person, class, or thing named, is void.

The candid inquirer will not be too ready to assert there is *no* significance in the Open Trusts. These were not always just what the lawyers would draw up in general accord with the terms of the Toleration Act. No Roman Catholic trust and no Anti-Trinitarian trust would have been legal, as we know; and *ministers*, as we are well aware, had to subscribe to the Articles of the Church of England, excepting the 34th, 35th, 36th, and part of the 20th. Still, "the Open Trust" did not satisfy all Dissenters, it was *not* a prized part of their Dissent. Some tied themselves up voluntarily.[1]

Is it not as likely that others were glad, for very comprehension sake,[2] to have their chapels as open as the limitations of the law allowed? For we must remember that one meeting-house would often serve for all the Dissenters in a neighbourhood. It is only,

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[1] In the Church at Olney, 1694, "No person or persons shall at any time hereafter be admitted or permitted to preach, pray, or perform any other religious worship or service in the aforesaid assemblies, or upon the said premises or any part thereof, but such as shall from time to time concur, agree, and be of the same persuasion and judgment in respect of doctrine, discipline, and worship, with John Gibbs of Newport Pagnell, in the said county of Bucks, Clerk, Pastor of a Congregational Church in Newport Pagnell and Olney aforesaid" ("The Town of Cowper," p. 133).

Principal Gordon writes on receipt of above: "John Gibbs' son Philip made tracks in the Unitarian direction in 1737, and was accordingly dismissed from Hackney."

[2] "The Nonconformity of the age of Elizabeth and James I. had never disputed the abstract right of the State to impose religious tests. Its grievance related to the imposition of rites, ceremonies, and apparel, injunctions enforced by the Crown and the bishops, on matters which, they said, the New Testament had left perfectly open. They held that the things which Christ left indifferent the civil magistrate can never make essential. But the question, "What are essentials, what non-essentials, in religion?" once raised, could not be confined to the zone of external things. It allied itself with the assertion of the fewness of things really fundamental which came into England from the Dutch Arminians. It was on the lips of Baxter that the thought found clearest utterance, that, granted it is necessary to enforce a whole series of articles, to the Protestant mind, these can never be on a dead-

level of equal importance. The faith which accepts them must vary in quality and in intensity.

"The first great note of Liberal Theology in England is the *Reduction of Essentials.* And when Baxter maintained that the fewer the essentials, the fitter they were to be "the matter of concord," he led the way to the second great note—*Comprehension*. It is in the light of this principle that we must interpret the fact of *Open Trust*."—Professor J. E. Odgers, reported in "Inquirer," Oct. 17, 1896.

"Most potent among the influential forces which tended to the progressive liberalising of the old Dissent were the writings of Baxter (1615–1691) and John Locke (1632–1704). Locke, if we estimate him by his principles (to say nothing of his specific opinions, which were not fully known as Antitrinitarian till the publication of extracts from his commonplace book in 1829), may pass for the Socinus of his age. There was the same lay disengagement from scholasticism, the same purpose of toleration tempered by prudence, the same interest in the minimising of essentials, and the same recurrence to Scripture, interpreted (that is to say, rationalised) by common sense rather than by profound exegesis.

"Locke's *Reasonableness of Christianity as delivered in the Scriptures* (1695) owes more than its title to Baxter's *Reasons for the Christian Religion* (1667); but in cutting down fundamentals (as Baxter would not have done) to the acknowledgment of the Messiahship of Jesus, Locke follows in the track of the *Leviathan* (1651) by Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679), who was more of a Socinian than Locke.

"This simplification of the Christian basis, adopted from Locke, was accepted with avidity by liberal Dissenters; its central thesis retained with them, up to a very recent period, the position of an undisputed axiom."—Principal Gordon in "Heads of English Unitarian History."

Locke finished his Letter on Toleration in 1685; but the subject had engaged his attention so early as 1667. See "Life and Letters of John Locke," p. 156.

we consider, under the sway of opposition to one extreme theory that Mr. Lloyd can speak of the "Open Trust *Myth*." From the time of Elizabeth the little leaven had been at work, silent and slow, but still leavening the lump: and what the Presbyterians had learned in suffering from 1662 to 1689, many of them afterwards gave forth in song.

Statements such as "Characteristics of the Dissenters—Did not Dissent from the Creeds, nor object to Subscription—Meeting Houses built by the Creed-making Dissenters—First Dissenters all Subscribers," do not entirely coincide with the historical facts. To the disquieting of the author of "Protestant Dissent," the Presbyterians at Salter's Hall (1719), in the matter of Messrs. Peirce and Hallett, of Exeter, to the number of forty-eight voted with the Non-Subscribers, as against eight Independents.[1] So he goes back to 1712,

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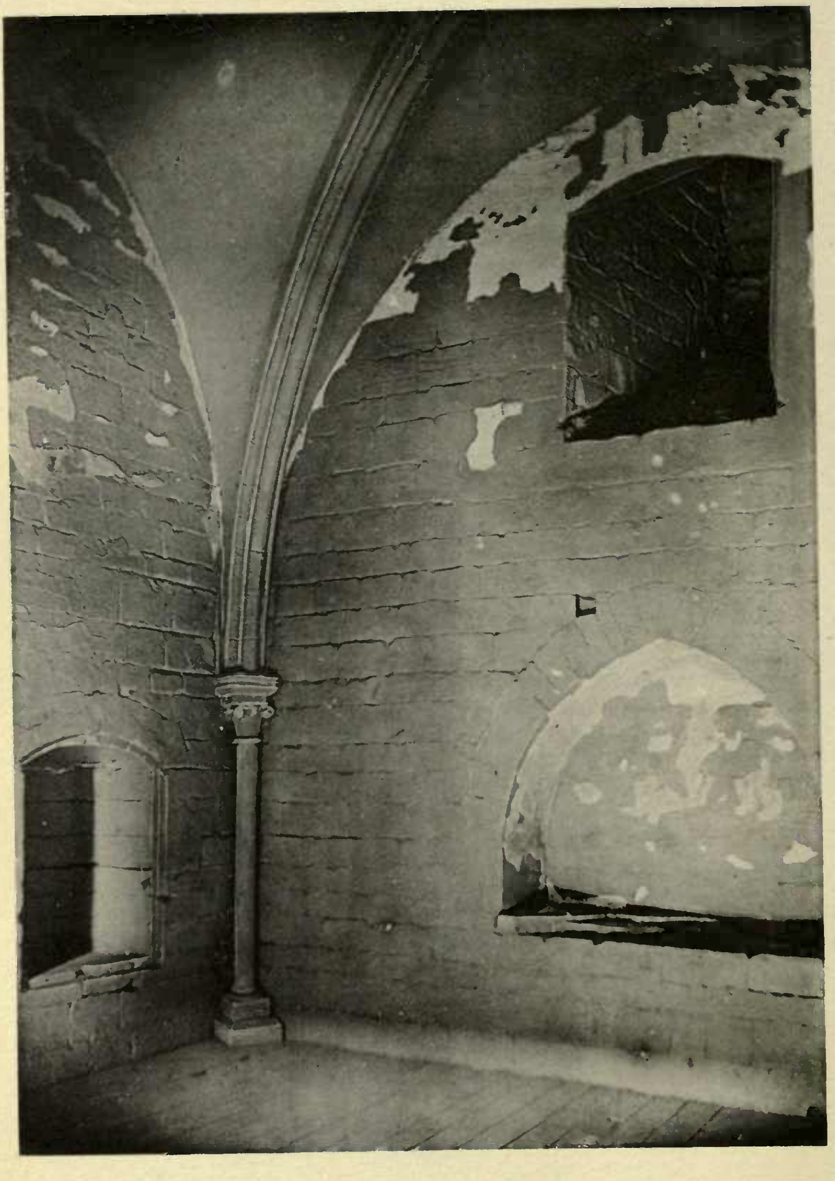
[1] In number (as given in *Heads of English Unitarian History*) there were 79 Presbyterians and 39 Independent Ministers present (out of a total of about 150), so that, with numbers equal, we could give the Independents *sixteen*. Of those who signed the Advices to the Exeter question "whether the holding of Arian opinions by any minister should be a sufficient reason for withdrawing from his fellowship," 67 per cent of the Presbyterians were with the Non-Subscribers (who preferred Scriptural words in their Confession of Faith at that Conference), to 24 per cent of the Independents; whilst of the total number present, whether they signed the Advices or not, 60 per cent of the Presbyterians were Non-Subscribers to 23 per cent of the Independents.

Principal Gordon, in the *Heads*, scarcely does justice to these biblical Presbyterians, and finds room, p. 33, after dwelling on the *quality* of four of the Congregational eight Non-Subscribers, to add—"Among them (the Non-Subscribers) were most of the younger Presbyterians, several of whom soon conformed, while others left the ministry altogether."



and declares there were no Non-Subscribing Congregations dating from 1662 or 1689.

But Matthew Henry (Diary, July 13, 1711, quoted in Williams's Life, p. 106) distinctly declares : "And this has been the judgment of the Congregation[1] at Chester, between whom and their ministers there have never been those solemn mutual engagements that have been between some other ministers and their

The MS. authority, quoted by James, *Presbyterian Chapels and Charities*, p. 709, is interesting: *he* also loves not the Presbyterian —"for of those non-subscribing gentlemen, and such as had imbibed their principles, there have at least twenty persons who called themselves Dissenting Ministers conformed to the Church of England since 1718." (See p. 259.)

These men, at least, may be credited with sincerity when they declared in their Advice "that they utterly disowned the Arian doctrine, and sincerely believed the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity, and the proper divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ."

Presumably, *pace* Mr. Lloyd, Non-subscription with them was, not as he would say, p. 134, owing to doubts on the Trinity, but as he says, p. 135, the defence of the right of private judgment.

"After the Salter's Hall Conference, Unitarianism spread with unexampled rapidity," adds Mr. Lloyd (quoting Skeats).

Blow, blow, thou winter wind,
Thou are not so unkind
As man's ingratitude !

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[1] "Presbyterians and Independents did not comprise the whole of Dissent. There were Baptists in Chester who had no organisation of their own, and we have distinct traces of their association with Matthew Henry's ministry. According to a tradition of no great value, they abandoned meetings in a separate room in order to join Henry's congregation. Is it conceivable that there were no Antitrinitarians in Chester? As early as the year 1650 the chapel of Chester Castle had been the scene of the brilliant preaching of John Knowles, the Arian ; he had followers, as we

congregations, nor any bond but that of love." And when we add that Philip Henry intensely disliked Subscription, and would even have tolerated Roman Catholics, it is clear, that in this chapel the Open Trust and Non-Subscription to human creeds went together.

The Dissenters did not frame the Act of Toleration. They are only to be judged by the use they made of it. Now let it be granted that Independents and Presbyterians and Baptists alike used the terms of the Act in their Trust-deeds ; yet it remains that they alone fully sympathised with the openness of the words, "For

know, and that kind of religious conviction does not readily die out. How Matthew Henry would have treated them we may gather from his relations with Thomas Emlyn (his fellow-student at Mr. Doolittle's : imprisoned for heresy at Dublin, 1703), the Arian. With Emlyn's views Henry was entirely out of accord, yet it is extremely instructive to hear, that when he found he could not bring Emlyn over to orthodoxy as he understood it, his anxiety was to keep him to his Arianism. Beyond this he saw the possibilities of Socinianism and of Deism, and he emphasised the points on which Emlyn stood with him, that 'his own principles' were 'nearer to the orthodox' than to those extremes—nearer perhaps than he knew.

"We may be sure that Matthew Henry's successors had to recognise the existence in their congregations of opinions varying at many points from their own ; and we may believe that they both exemplified and inculcated a spirit of tolerance and a spirit of union. In this they did but follow, in altered circumstances, the clearly expressed mind of their predecessor. 'I hate,' said Matthew Henry, 'to see religion and the Church monopolised, as though Christ took his measure from our little fancies and opinions.' He would include in the Church, 'those, whatever their dividing names,' whose aim was to 'live soberly, righteously, and godly'" (Principal Gordon, part of a *Bicentennial Address*, 28th October).

the worship of God," who did not hedge them in with church covenants, but left membership and communion doctrinally free. These, by whatever designations they went, and it is quite immaterial, knew a Comprehension of which the others were ignorant. "Presbyterian" was the name such were often called in the city of Chester.

With the initial impulse of the principle of Non-Subscription, Matthew Henry's congregation was on the open way to Progress; and the noble path was never voluntarily barred.

It is, however, from records outside the Chapel documents that we must find expression of the liberal attitude of mind, and note the specific stages on the onward march.

FROM OWEN'S "PLAIN DEALING" (1715)[1]

> 1) The distracting Divisions this Nation has so long labour'd under, have been fomented mostly by the Fury of a Set of Men, who by their intemperate zeal for the Shell of Religion, beyond any concern for the Substance of it, & their rigorous Imposition of an impracticable Uniformity, have so far outflown the true intention of the Church, as justly to acquire to themselves the appellation of High-flyers.
>
> 2) That Man (say they) is a Schismatick, because he does not Worship where we do; that Fellow a Heretick, because his Faith is not of the same Dimension with ours; & such a one is a damn'd Presbyterian because he won't Drink & Swear for the

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[1] Charles Owen, D.D., minister for nearly fifty years of Cairo Street Chapel, Warrington; died 1746. For his "Plain Dealing" he was indicted, and though no conviction followed, he was mulcted in heavy damages. See *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, and p. 107 (*ante*).

Ch—h as we do ; Nay, he is so impertinent that a man dare not Swear nor Curse in his company be he never so much provok'd without incurring his Reproof, forsooth ; Our Church is establish'd by Law, therefore we are certainly in the Right ; the Dissenters are only tolerated, therefore they are in the wrong. We are the Body of the People, they are but a small Part, & who doubts but the Truth is likelier to be among the multitude & Great Ones, who are all for us.—They were always, till of late, counted Criminals by the Law, & we punished them accordingly, therefore they are Schismaticks. This is generally the Cant of the Faction, however differently modify'd in their various Invectives, not considering that the Ecclesiastical Establishment as different from us, does finally resolve itself into Acts of Parliament.

3) Whether the Treatment we have all along met with for our conscientious Nonconformity, be agreeable to the Rules of Christianity, good Policy, or the Privilege of a free-born People, since our Dissent is not from any essential Part of the Doctrine of Worship of the Church, but only from some Accidents, which as circumstantiated we (after the most impartial Search) think to be unlawful ; so that we do not voluntarily leave the Church but are driven out. Thus Edom refused to give Israel passage through his border, wherefore Israel turned away from him.

A Reply to the Subscribing Ministers' Reasons (1719), "(1) *God has not always made use of the plainest words that he possibly could have done to prevent the Cavils and Evasions of Corrupt Minds.*"

But to be plain, the occasion of these Divisions was our Brethren's offering an Humane Composition as a Test of Orthodoxy even after many of us protested against any such thing, as derogating, in our esteem, from the Sufficiency of the Scriptures. (See p. 261.)

They should have done us the Justice to give out every where to their Friends, & to the World such an Account as this; that They had taken the Liberty to Subscribe certain Humane Explications of the Doctrine of the Trinity, which, speaking their Sense, they thought they had a right to do; & that others of their Brethren had made use of their Liberty to declare they would only subscribe the words of Scripture as a Test or Witness of their Faith; but that in their Sentiments concerning the Doctrine of the Trinity, there was a profess'd Agreement.

Reasons
Against the Imposition of
Subscription
To the Westminster Confession of Faith
or
Any such Human Tests of Orthodoxy,
Together with
Answers
To the Arguments for such Impositions

By Samuel Haliday, M.A.[1]
Minister of the Gospel

Belfast
Printed by James Blow, Anno Dom.
MDCCXXIV.

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[1] M.A. Glasgow; went to Leyden for theology; received ordination at Geneva, in 1708, "because the terms of communion were not there narrowed by any human impositions"; was present at Salter's Hall; on day appointed for installation as minister of the First Congregation, Belfast, 28th July, 1720, said: "I sincerely believe the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments to be the only rule of revealed religion, a sufficient test of orthodoxy or soundness in the faith, and to settle all the terms of ministerial and Christian communion, to which nothing

> . . . But when the question was put in an authoritative way, so as to carry in it the air of an Inquisition upon me, after that I had preached the Gospel faithfully tho' in much weakness for the space of Thirteen years, the Answer which I gave was in these Words : My Refusal to declare my adherence to the assent I gave to the Westminster Confession of Faith, when I was licensed, does not proceed from my Disbelief of the important Truths contain'd in it.—But my scruples are against submitting to Human Tests of Divine Truths, especially in a great number of extra essential points, without the Knowledge & Belief of which, men may be entitled to the Favour of God & the Hope of Eternal Life, & according to the Laws of the Gospel, to Christian & Ministerial Communion in the Church, when imposed as a necessary term of such Communion. The Reasons of which Scruples I am now ready to lay before this Assembly, & shall always be open to Conviction.

In Cuitt's "Chester" is an account of the Chapel and its ministers by the Rev. James Lyons, Minister, 1808–13.

> Mr. Gardner filled the station with reputation and usefulness. It is difficult now to ascertain whether Mr. Gardner was a Calvinist or not, as he did not from the press make any declarations of that nature, but, from the choice of the congregation as to his successor, it seems highly probable that whatever his religious sentiments were when he came to Chester he had, towards the close of his life, departed in a con-

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may be added by any Synod, Assembly, or Council whatsoever : and I find all the essential articles of the Christian doctrine to be contained in the Westminster Confession. which articles I receive upon the sole authority of the Holy Scriptures." See *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

> siderable degree from the doctrine maintained by Mr. Henry.

If we could only get to know the part Mr. Gardner took in the differences of theological opinion that led to the unmeditated stoppage of the Minutes[1] of the Cheshire Ministers, light would be thrown upon several moot points.

The following is an extract of the last minutes entered in the interesting book. (See p. 102 n.)

> Sepr. 3, 1745. Present: Gardner, Mottershead, Sidebottom, Nichols, Turner, Phillips, Lord, Hopkins, Worthington, Street, J^no^ Holland.
>
> Mr. Street preach^t^ from 1 Joh. 9: That was the true light which lighteth &c., and had the thanks of the brethren.
>
> Mr. Meanly at request of his people at Namptwich, consented to ordination next meeting. Ye meeting to be first Tuesday in May next.

Of Mr. Meanly's ordination we know nothing: but it is most likely that his pronounced heretical views were the occasion of the disruption. If the meeting took place, as we presume it did, the proceedings might appear in the usual seemly order whilst "Mr. Rogerson preached," and "Mr. Worthington supported" him, but when Mr. Hopkins began "to ask questions and take his Confession," then we may imagine excitement would begin.

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[1] Principal Gordon writes that "there was no break in the Cheshire meetings; that there is no ground for inferring the break-up of a meeting from the failure of a minute-book. Turner, who had the minute-book, left the neighbourhood in 1746, and took the book with him; hence the date to which it goes. It was luckily preserved; where the next book went no one knows, but the meetings went on till the amalgamation with the Lancashire Provincial, 1764. The answers were arranged beforehand and passed by the classis, before the ordination began."

We may let both statements stand until the lost minute-book appears, when we shall know what ministers, if any, had seceded. One may legitimately suspect excitement on the part of the hearers, if there was ground for thinking Mr. Meanly in any degree unorthodox.

It is impossible even to surmise with any profit on Mr. Gardner's stand in the affair.

He knew Mr. Haynes well, the late minister at Nantwich, and thus his neighbour. According to "The History of Upper Chapel," that gentleman's "Arianism was quite undisguised": so that we may fairly infer that Mr. Meanly was tinged too strongly for the comfort of the ordinary orthodox.

The Chapel Records afford not the slightest direct help in our quest: and therefore it may not be out of place to look again on the outer world for indication of the widespread flux.

Material is to hand. The contemporary "Pamphlets" in the Renshaw Street Library, Liverpool, would probably be known to a minister like Mr. Gardner, who held such a leading position among the Cheshire ministers. From some of these we shall quote:—

An
Apology
for the
Danger of the Church
Proving
That the Church is, & ought to be always in
Danger; and that it would be dangerous for
her to be out of Danger, Being a Second Part of
the Apology for Parson Alberoni.
1719.

> I that am a Layman, find great comfort in being a Christian and a Believer ; & particularly I am so much of a Heretick, as to think that when our Saviour said his Father was greater than he, he did not tell a word of a Lie ; I know his ambassadors are of another opinion,—but I have faith in Jesus Christ.
>
> The danger of the Church comes from divers causes. . . . Common Sense & Sobriety are great Enemies to the Church. While Folks are sober & rational, they can see about them, & what that large Competency of Blindness which so eminently qualifies a Man for a good Churchman. . . .
>
> There is a Gentleman in this City :—
>
> 1) He believes that a man may be saved by adhering to naked Truth & plain Religion.
> 2) That it is not damnable not to believe what we cannot believe. . . .
> 12) That Dissenters are our Fellow-Creatures.
> 13) That Religion is a Rational Thing.

Mr. Peirce, in his account of " The Western Inquisition " (1720), of which he was the victim, says :—

> I was then bred up in a scheme, of which I can now make nothing else but Sabellianism ; and a set of unscriptural expressions had been inculcated upon me from my youth, which I had a great veneration for. However, having this principle as early, and as deeply fasten'd in my mind, That *the Scriptures were the only rule of our faith*, I always paid the highest regard to them ; and I find a satisfaction in observing how careful I was in the main to use their language in my preaching.

This Exeter minister had studiously avoided the controversy, and had read his Bible under the influence of a prejudice in favour of the common opinion, but two things used very much to astonish him.

> One was that I saw plainly the antenicene writers never came up to my notion, nay frequently spake very contrary thereto. . . .
>
> The other thing which sometimes surpriz'd me, was, that I observ'd the writers after the council of Nice, and particularly S$^{t.}$ Basil, appear'd to me to have had very odd notions of the Trinity, as that the three persons had one common nature, just as three men have. This seem'd to me downright Tritheism; and I wonder'd how he came to be counted orthodox.

He expostulated with Mr. Whiston, and produced some arguments for his opinion, and against what was reported to be Whiston's. Whiston offered to let him read the proofs of his publications; but Peirce wanted to have his name mentioned in no controversy—" & so I never reply'd to his letter." However, when Dr. Clarke publish'd his *Scripture-doctrine of the Trinity* he "was reproach'd for his sloth, and his unfairness in not reading both sides of so important a controversy."

> I could not fall in with the Doctor in everything; but saw clearly, I must part with some beloved opinions, or else quit my notion of the authority of the holy Scriptures.
>
> The reader will easily imagine, that this must have been a great shock to me, and that I must have had a great concern upon my mind, when I found my self at a loss about a doctrine of which I had been all along fond, to a great degree of uncharitableness. However, this caused me to read the *Bible* with more care, and make it more my prayer to God, that I might be led into the truth.

> I was soon convinc'd[1] the common opinion could not reasonably be esteem'd a fundamental article of the Christian faith, as I had been too apt before to take it to be. And upon serious consideration the subject seem'd to me so abstruse and difficult, that I could not imagine God had made men's salvation to depend upon their entertaining exactly the same notion concerning it; especially seeing the scripture never insists upon the absolute necessity of one uniform belief about it. And I was much confirm'd in this apprehension, by considering how widely good men had differ'd from one another upon the subject.

Our next illustration of the theological ferment brings us to 1742, and is taken from an additional tract on "Original Sin" by John Taylor, D.D., who in 1757 became Tutor in Divinity at Warrington Academy: and thus neighbour to Messrs. Gardner and Chidlaw. It is in reply to a criticism of a former work of Taylor's by "R. R."[2]

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[1] The following quotations are from pp. 132 and 133.—Hitherto I have only cited the writers of the Established Church; 'tis very possible, that the addition of some famous Dissenters may have more influence upon those with whom I have had to do.

Dr. *Owen* says, *Vindiciæ Evangelicæ*, p. 187: "There is an order, yea a *subordination* in the persons of the Trinity themselves; whereby the *Son* as to his personality may be said to *depend* on the *Father*, being begotten of him." And in his treatise *Of the Spirit*, p. 67: "The Father is the *fountain* of all, as in *being* and *existence*, so in *operation*. . . ."

Thus, likewise, Mr. *Henry*, on John xv. 26, speaking of Christ's sending the Spirit *from the Father*, expresses himself thus: "According to my Father's *will* and *appointment*, and with his concurring *power* and *authority*." Now I would fain know how the Father can have such an authority over the Son and Spirit, without their being subordinate to him.

[2] "The Ruin and Recovery of Mankind," 1742 (anon.), by Isaac Watts.

> If R. R. has made such a wide Inroad into the Doctrine of Original Sin, may not I be permitted to advance a short Step or two further? If I discovered, as well as he, that *our Fathers*, and the *Assembly of Divines* as well as the Divines of Many Ages before them asserted that for Adam's Sin all his Posterity *are liable to the Pains of Hell for Ever*, without any Evidence or Ground in Revelation; had not I very just Reason to suspect, that if they could be so sadly mistaken in a Point of so much Importance, they might very possibly be mistaken in any other? Was not this sufficient to excite any one, who is concerned to understand Revelation, and to settle his religious Principles upon a solid Bottom, upon a more careful Examination? How durst I venture my Faith and Conscience upon the Authority of Men so apparently weak and fallible? What could I do less than turn to my Bible? To my Bible I went, and upon the closest and most impartial Enquiry could find no other Consequences of Adam's Sin upon us, besides temporal Death, the Sorrow of Child-bearing, and bodily Toil. . . .
>
> The Wickedness of Men proceeds from themselves; and their Sufferings from the Wisdom, Justice, and Goodness of God, as the Governor of the World, to discipline, correct and reform his sinful Creatures.

No more telling personal example of the usual process of theological stages in the unmaking of Trinitarianism can be given than that of Dr. Priestley. As minister at Nantwich 1758–1761, and tutor at Warrington for the following six years, he was also a neighbour both to Mr. Gardner and his assistant, Mr. Chidlaw. Nor can he be counted as without direct influence on the affairs of Chester. Those Warrington students who supplied for Mr. Chidlaw in his illness, and whose generous search for truth and eager expositions seem to have given offence to certain in the congregation, and ostensibly brought affairs to a crisis, had been under the influence of Priestley. There is an almost closer connection which gives additional point to the introduction of the intrepid student of Science and Theology in this chapter. Until after he was twenty-two years of age, and minister at Needham, he had read no "Commentary on the Scriptures except that of Mr. Henry."[1]

> Before I went from home I was very desirous of being admitted a communicant in the congregation which I had always attended, and the old minister as well as my aunt were as desirous of it as myself, but the elders of the church, who had the government of it, refused me, because when they interrogated me on the subject of the *sin of Adam*, I appeared not to be quite orthodox, not thinking that all the human race (supposing them not to have any sin of their own) were liable to the wrath of God, and the pains of hell for ever, on account of that sin only; for such was the question that was put to me. Some time before, having then no doubt of the truth of the doctrine, I well remember being much distressed that I could not feel a proper repentance for the sin of Adam; taking it for granted, that, without *this*, it could not be forgiven me. . . .
>
> Thinking farther on these subjects, I was, before I went to the academy an *Arminian*, but had by no means rejected the doctrine of the Trinity or that of the Atonement. . . .
>
> Having left the academy, as I have observed, with a

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[1] "Memoirs of Priestley," a most valuable little book. Priestley was born and bred in a Calvinist atmosphere, and was taught in the Assembly's Catechism.

qualified belief of the doctrine of *atonement*, . . . I was desirous of getting some more definite ideas on the subject, and with that view set myself to peruse the whole of the "Old and New Testament," and to collect from them all the texts that appeared to me to have any relation to the subject. . . . The consequence of this was, what I had no apprehension of when I began the work, viz., a full persuasion that the doctrine of atonement, even in its most qualified sense, had no countenance either from Scripture or reason. . . .

While I was in this retired situation (Needham), I had, in consequence of much pains and thought, become persuaded of the falsity of the doctrine of atonement, of the inspiration of the authors of the books of Scripture, as writers, and of all idea of supernatural influence except for the purpose of miracles. But I was still an Arian, having never turned my attention to the Socinian doctrine, and contenting myself with seeing the absurdity of the Trinitarian system. . . .

At Warrington we (the tutors) were all Arians.

The only Socinian in the neighbourhood was Mr. Seddon of Manchester, and we all wondered at him. But then we never entered into any particular examination of the subject. . . .

By reading with care "Dr. Lardner's Letter on the Logos" I became what is called a Socinian soon after my settlement at Leeds, and, after giving the closest attention to the subject, I have seen more and more reason to be satisfied with that opinion to this day, and likewise to be more impressed with the idea of its importance.

We are glad to be able to give the concluding portion of Principal Gordon's Bicentennial Address. It is peculiarly appropriate that the writer of "Priestley as a Pioneer in Theological Science" should here follow on :—

"It should further be noted that throughout this period of transition the worshippers in this chapel had a religious bond, the value, and even the existence of which is often forgotten. As Dissenters they had no formulary of common prayer, yet a manual of common worship they had.

THE PSALM-BOOK,

before Dr. Watts had begun 'to teach' David 'to speak like a Christian,' was neutral on points of Christian theology, neutral even as regards the object of worship. Matthew Henry would have nothing but Scripture psalmody in the devotions of his congregation. From year's end to year's end his morning service was opened with the hundredth Psalm, which bade all people 'sing to the Lord, with cheerful voice.' To this invitation all could alike respond ; just as all could sing the twenty-third Psalm, whether in the Lord who was their Shepherd they recognised the glory of the Triune God, or the simple majesty of the Father, or the heavenly guidance of the Son of God, or the tender watchfulness of the Son of Man. Probably from 1798, certainly from 1808, the ministry at Matthew Henry's Chapel has been distinctly Unitarian. That is to say, it has been

UNITARIAN HALF THE TIME.

Throughout one of the two centuries of its existence, the pulpit of this chapel has been a pulpit from which the gospel proclaimed has been the gospel as Unitarians understand it. With many varieties, and even contrarieties, of individual thought and expression, there has been absolute and unmistakable identity on those main points which give to Unitarian worship a distinctive impress, and to Unitarian theology its distinctive character. So that the heading of the bicentennial announcements,

'MATTHEW HENRY'S CHAPEL, UNITARIAN,'

states—not, indeed, an irreversible ultimatum—but a plain fact, which for a hundred years has been equally recognisable and recognised as fact by those who have welcomed and approved, and by those who have admitted and deplored it. Shall we say that this is a mere effect of tolerance ? Has the Unitarian doctrine been an alien intruder, which rewarded hospitality by ejecting its patron ? Or does the sequence of

CALVINISM AND UNITARIANISM

illustrate anew the inviolable law of cause and effect ? Every tree bears fruit after its kind ; does Calvinism bear Unitarianism as its legitimate fruit ? It is not easy to see this at the first glance. The theology of Matthew Henry was a hearty Calvinism, modified no doubt, or at any rate mellowed, by his Biblicism. The appearance, in this century, of a composite commentary (Henry and Scott) exemplifies the demand in certain outside quarters for a reading of Scripture, laced with a severer dogmatism on some of the five points. On the other hand, from the teaching of

Henry's successors every trace of their ancestral Calvinism seems to have disappeared. But is this so? Three prominent features of Calvinism are prominent features also of Unitarianism; the physiognomy of the offspring proves its parentage. Calvinism lays the finger of God on the individual soul, saying Thou art mine, mine from all eternity, even unto everlasting. Whether this electing touch is laid on any other soul, or on every other soul, is mere speculation, and matters nothing to the all-important personal fact. Calvinism establishes the individual soul in an immediate personal relation to the eternal God, a relation with which no priest can meddle, nor potentate interfere. Hence the

RELIGIOUS INDEPENDENCE

of the Unitarian in his rightful and direct inheritance from the Calvinism of his forefathers. Again, Calvinism lays the whole ultimate responsibility upon God. Responsible for his own sins, a man is not responsible for his own success. He may make his mistakes, commit his crimes; the issue is with the Most High, and with Him alone. He may burn Servetus, and the Lord in heaven shall laugh him to scorn. 'Great is truth,' say some, 'and will prevail.' '*Will* prevail?' retorts the Calvinist, '*does* prevail; it never does anything else.' *Magna est veritas et prævalet,* as the old text runs. As the strong Apostle puts it, 'We *can* do nothing against the truth, but *for* the truth.' Hence that special feeling of unrestraint which marks the Unitarian sense of

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

is the outcome of the Calvinist assurance. With a perfectly free heart he may pursue his way; free, if he likes, to become (in Luther's phrase) one of 'the proudest asses in the universe;' secure that his aberration cannot mar the eternal plan, but that with and by him the Judge of all the earth is surely doing right. Further, the very keynote of Calvinism is the Sovranty of God, realised, in its extremest form, as the single rule of a solitary Will. While the Calvinist may confess the Trinity in form, he cannot do other than hold to the

DIVINE UNITY

as the ultimate fact of his belief. Perhaps no type of religion within the Christian pale has so deeply emphasised, as Calvinism has done, the truth of the absolute Unity of the Divine Being. At its merely dogmatic stage, the Unitarian confession is Calvinism pure and simple, and nothing more than Calvinism. And if Unitarianism stands only for the indivisible Sovranty of one regnant Will, then Matthew Henry's Chapel has always been Unitarian, and never been anything else. But as men's hearts enlarge, the conviction will and must grow that this truth of the Divine Sovranty is tenable only as a sequel to the prior truth of the Divine Fatherhood. Otherwise we should have to sorrowfully falter out the sad surmise of Jacob Boehme, 'Meseemeth that, in some sort, Love is greater than God;' greater in quality, though not in sway. And when we get to this, the perception of the Divine Fatherhood, we get to the fuller ripeness of the

Unitarian confession. Nobody, either in Matthew Henry's time, or after Matthew Henry's time, wanted to be a Unitarian. Every prepossession, every tradition, every association was against it. With honest energy many a man resisted it. But it had to come. It came in the train of the Divine Sovranty. Either that must go, or else the ruling force of heaven and earth is a Father's Love, the gist of Christ's revelation is the passionate longing of a Father's Heart. This last point touches closely on a matter which exhibits the most characteristic advance which Unitarianism has made upon Calvinism. Unitarianism declares that Christ is not God. If this were the whole or the main of the Unitarian conclusion respecting our Lord, it would possess little more than a controversial importance, and would tend to a somewhat barren dispute about the relative place of the Sender and the Sent. In declaring, further, that

CHRIST IS MAN,

Unitarianism opens a new view of the origin, the contents, and the possibilities of human nature, and utters truths to which Calvinism was blind. For this new perception of man carries with it a new perception of God, and freshens the approach to Him by a new and living way."

CHAPTER VII

THE "SECESSION"

WHATEVER the intentions of the chapel-builders were in the matter of the Open Trust, or of Non-subscription, and the possibility or need of theological movement, no doubt exists that by the sixties such a movement had taken place. Men might deplore the fact: many did; but no man denied it. Some of the founders of the present Queen Street Congregational Church grievously deplored, and, for conscience sake, left the old Chapel.

The history and significance of this act must be of interest to the descendants both of those who remained and of those who departed. Moreover, the full story has never been properly known. And so, that which people had a desire to believe, they were in no wise hindered from believing. But though pious opinions may be soothing, they are not thereby invested with final authority. The appeal for that must lie in the actual facts.

This inquiry into the proceedings will not only present the thinking world with concrete examples of theological development on the one hand, and of theological crystallisation on the other, but will also, we trust, allay any traditionary soreness on the part of those who went out and took not enough with them. When both those who worshipped God in the older fabric, and those who worshipped in a hired room, were alike honourable in their doings, it seems sad that imputations should be made by the reputed representatives of those who left upon the representatives of those who stayed. In reality, it is by no means a matter of men regarding "the flesh-pots of Egypt," but largely the concern of an antiquated *odium theologicum.*

"Nonconformity in Cheshire" is a fine piece of work. Written by several Independent ministers, it was published under the editorship of the Rev. William Urwick, M.A., who, owing to the ill-health of the Rev. C. Chapman, M.A., minister of the Queen Street Congregational Church, undertook "Chester, Wirral, and Malpas."

The "Introduction" to the work is also by the Editor. Beginning with a masterly survey of the rise of English Nonconformity in general, Mr. Urwick proceeds with knowledge and lucidity to narrate the part this particular county played in that notable history.

But the growing heterodoxy of the oldest Nonconformist congregation disturbs the minister's soul, and, what is more unexpected, the judgment and care of the historian.

The concluding sentences of his account, written in 1864, add neither to the dignity of research nor to our sense of the common gratitude of a writer who through the courtesy of the trustees and the help of the minister had access to the oldest chapel record.

> "He"—the Rev. W. J. Bakewell—"was still at Chester in 1820, but since that date the succession of ministers is unknown to us. Crook St. Chapel, built by orthodox Nonconformists, under the protection of the Toleration Act, for the orthodox Matthew Henry, is now with its endowments (which are considerable) in the hands of Unitarians. The true representatives in Doctrine as well as in Dissent, of the Nonconformists of 1662 and 1688, worship Christ elsewhere."

The account of the Queen St. Independent Chapel "is furnished by Mr. Chapman," whilst Mr. Urwick inserted, out of his fuller knowledge, a few additions. The former considers that Mr. Gardner's "views of divine truth changed towards Arianism about the year 1750," though when Mr. Chidlaw became sole pastor "the Socinian doctrine began to be more openly proclaimed." Then, he says, "the Independents in the congregation—for whom the present gallery was erected—together with *the remaining orthodox Presbyterians,*

> formed a distinct party in the church and came out from fellowship.
>
> This took place in 1768. In thus leaving the chapel and endowments in the hands of the Unitarians, the Independents brought away nothing but a good conscience, a zealous regard for the evangelical doctrines of religion, and that copy of Matthew

> Henry's Commentary which had been left for their special use. The number of those who seceded is not known. It would appear that by far the greater part of them were persons in humble circumstances."

Here Mr. Urwick inserts a portion of a letter which we shall print in full.

Both gentlemen would seem to be of the same opinion as the present pastor of Queen St. Church, who, writing October 27, 1900, expressing his regret that owing to other engagements he would not be able to avail himself of the kind hospitality offered at the Bicentenary of Matthew Henry's Chapel, goes on to say that a little book had just come into his possession entitled, "Select Remains of the late Rev^d.^ Ebenezer White of Chester."

> This poet preacher became pastor of Queen St. Congregational Church in 1802, and he sings in blank verse. Thus—
>
> "While Matthew Henry in his 'Comment.' lives, Chester can never die. My lot is cast where once he labour'd, and my little flock are the remains of his. If discipline, if creed identically alike, if strain of argument, and mode of worship give a title to succession, we alone are his successors; tho' another roof protects our heads, and other walls enclose."

Our Chapel Books are totally silent concerning any secession. This has given rise to much surmise. But an MS., in five vols. folio, in the collection at Dr. Williams's Library, and known as "Records of Nonconformity," tells us all or nearly all we need to know. The MS. is by the Rev. Josiah Thompson, and is entitled—

> "A Collection of Papers, containing an account of the original Formation of some hundred protestant dissenting Congregations, the succession of their Pastors, and remarkable Providences and Transactions, which have happened among them to the present Time. Taken from their Church Books, the Testimony and Report of old People, private Papers, and other authentic Records.
>
> "Begun to be collected in the year 1772 with a view to assist any one who may be disposed to pursue the Enquiry and to draw up a more perfect and accurate Account."

We are very grateful to Mr. Thompson.

The main portion of the MS. keeps closely to Matthew Henry's "Account," but then follows the very information we want, and at first hand.

> There hath been another Congregation formed lately at Chester concerning which Mr. Jenkins[1] of Wrexham hath sent me y^e following account dated Wrexham, Sep^r 24, 1773.
>
> Respecting y^e Congregation at Chester about which you enquire I confess I cannot call it a Division or Seperation from Mr. Chidlaw's Congregation. I never could look upon it in that Light. I allways from y^e begining disclaimed any such view & declared freely at y^e first that I would engage in no such Business.
>
> The story in a few words is this:
>
> In y^e latter End of 1769 Mr. Dix & Mr. Holland call'd on me in Wrexham, declared the great Satisfaction they had in hearing me in the Presbyterian Chapel Michaelmass 1768 & beg'd of me to come over

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[1] Joseph Jenkins (1742–1819), M.A., afterwards D.D., was Baptist Minister at Wrexham, 1773–94.

and preach again. I asked where? They answered they would procure a Place for that it did not seem agreable to Mr. Chidlaw's People that I should preach in their Place, as I was too Orthodox for them. I asked again whether they intended to make a Party & a Separation from Mr. Chidlaw? for that neither my Character, Connections or Inclination would permit me to be concerned in an affair of that Nature. The Answer was clearly in the negative. I am said Mr. Dix[1] no member of y^{e} Chapel—I am a member of y^{e} late Dr. Watts's Church. I am only an Hearer & occasional Communicant at y^{e} Chapel & have been long dissatisfied with y^{e} young Preachers[2] from Warrington who supplied during Mr. Chidlaw's Illness.

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[1] "When Dix said he was not a 'member' except of Watts' church, I daresay he was technically right, and Jenkins would understand the distinction; so would Thompson, who, by the way, though a Baptist, had been assistant in that same church." —A. G.

[2] John Philpot (son-in-law to M. H.) and Dr. John Tylston (nephew), members of the Chester Congregation, were original subscribers and served on the first committee of the Academy. Dr. Tylston was local collector of subscriptions for Chester in 1763; Mr. Thomas Moulson in 1770–73, and a donor of five guineas; Mr. Ralph Eddowes, an alumnus of the Academy, was a donor of five guineas in 1780, as also Mr. Edward Moulson, likewise an alumnus; Miss Tylston was one of the few remaining individual subscribers in 1782; and Mr. Charles Potts gave ten guineas and attended the final meeting in 1786.—*Warrington Papers and Accounts.*

These facts are noteworthy in the light of Priestley's statement that the tutors were all Arians, 1761–67. If certain of the Chester Congregation were less orthodox than their minister, it speaks well for the mutual toleration, and the inner progress of the congregation itself. This would illustrate the statement that "the most intellectually active part of Dissent was *drifting* gradually into Socinianism and Unitarianism" (*The English Church in the Eighteenth Century*, ii. p. 52).

He said moreover that He was of y^{e} orthodox Sentiments & wish'd to hear me again. Mr. Holland said that He was a member of Mr. Thomass's Church at Bristol and only a Hearer at y^{e} Chapel & that they were deputed to speak to me by several other Persons partly Baptists & partly Methodists who had been in connection with Mr. Westley but were now dissatisfied. So pressing an Invitation with so fair a Profession I thought I was not at Liberty to refuse, especially as I had not a view to continue in y^{e} country but intended to return to London in y^{e} Spring. I went accordingly. The place provided was y^{e} Smiths Meeting House in Common Hall Lane. Only 2 or 3 of Mr. Chidlaw's People were present and that only in y^{e} morning. Some of the People rather shewed an Aversion I remember too in a Manner not very decent, tho it is not worth taking notice of except to shew there was no Seperation. . . . There were about 200 People hearing me. I asked what they were and was answered that they were Methodists & Church People who if curiosity had not led them to hear me would have gone no where. Numbers thus attending I altered my Design of returning to London and at y^{e} Desire of the leading People preached to them all y^{e} Winter. In y^{e} Spring y^{e} Interest was thought formidable enough to encourage y^{e} looking out for a larger Place, as many could not get in where we were. The House that was lately blown up with Gun Powder was pitch'd upon & actually agreed for to make a dissenting Meeting House, but y^{e} Owner not standing to his first agreement it was happily relinquished & another Place pitch'd upon which they fitted up & where they now are but still Mr. Chidlaw's People kept entire, nor do I recollect more than Mr. Dix, his Daughter & one other Woman that were in communion at the Chapel that went away.

They have had a Minister 12 months, the Inde-

> pendants are the Majority and are formed into a Church, the Minister's name is Will. Armitage. He is ordained their Pastor—the numbers who attend on his preaching are between 3 & 400 in an Afternoon. The People are much of the Methodist Stamp and their Minister also. They do not understand the dissenting Principles and the Minister profess'd to me to be against the application to Parliament.
>
> Time alone must discover whether this Society is likely to be of any Continuance, at present they seem to be too heterogenious a Body ever comfortably to coalesce.

It has been suggested that this letter of Jenkins is "exculpatory."[1] But it would seem only so in reply to a reference of Josiah Thompson, who, we infer, in his letter of inquiry had let fall some such expression as "separation."

Otherwise, Mr. Jenkins would not have given such prominence in his account to the handful of Mr. Chidlaw's people who were present. He would have kept to the principal constituents of the new congregation—viz., the Baptists, the Methodists, the Church People.

It will also be observed that at the very outset he makes no scruple to come and preach in Chester, provided there is no separation. A Baptist himself, he would be perfectly free, and it would be his duty, to respond to a call from his fellows; and it could be no "separation" to preach either to unattached Methodists or to non-church-going Church People. Consequently, it is clear that any "exculpatory" tone in his letter is owing to an unfounded suggestion, or hearsay, on the part of Josiah Thompson.

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[1] Principal Gordon.

If we now consider Jenkins's accuracy, we have but to remember that he is writing of public events fresh in the minds of all Nonconforming Chester. Mr. Armitage entered upon his duties on October 30, 1772, and at the time of the narrative he had been minister for "twelve months." It was well within four years since the deputation waited upon Jenkins at Wrexham. Of the history being made, all the parties concerned would be living witnesses. Further, in the matter of "recollection" in a point of detail, his statement is literally borne out by the testimony of the Chapel Books.

The names of the members of the infant Church, on the 30th January, 1772, are given as nine in number, and of these only two are found as subscribers to Matthew Henry's Chapel. They are William Dix and Mrs. Dimila. The third "communicant" is Mr. Dix's wife, according to Mr. Urwick; or, according to Mr. Jenkins, his daughter. What the precise relationship was matters little: she was either the wife, or an elder daughter of the same Christian name.

A word or two may now be said about Messrs. Dix and Holland. The first-named gentleman is said to have been a cheese-factor from London. His statements at Wrexham appear to be a little wide of the truth. If he were, as he declared, "no member of Mr. Chidlaw's congregation," the connection between Queen St. Independent Church and Matthew Henry's Chapel would be even more slender than we believe it to be. In the eyes of the older congregation, however, he counted as a member, for he was a subscriber, and attended the annual meetings of the Society. So far back as 1754, "Mr. Dix" contributed 10s. 6d. to the repairs of the Chapel. On Lord's Day, April 27, 1755, a daughter, Maria, was baptised "in public." In 1763 he gave £1 1s. towards repairs; whilst in 1766, for the Michaelmas Quarter he is down for 15s. 9d., the average quarterly subscription of 57 persons being about 6s. 8d., and ranging from £1 15s. to 1s.

Further, he is present at "a meeting of the Society" held on Sunday, 3rd July, 1768, when it was agreed that "in the future choice of a minister[1] we are to be

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[1] The following extracts from the Cash Book will show the proceedings :—

"Feb. 16. 1768. That the Rev. Mr. Hodson of Moulton [Richard Hodgson of Monton] be wrote to as soon as convenient by Mr. Roughley or Mr. Keay and be Requested the favr. to Preach & also to administer the Lord's Supper the next Lords day fortnight or first Lords day in March next & notice be sent him thereof as soon as possible. Also that the Revd. Mr. Astley of Preston be wrote to do us the favour as to Preach here any Sabbath day (at his option) after the above mentioned Lords day & that he be desired to signify in his Answer which day will be most agreeable to him that a proper Supply may be made for such other Dayes as may be wanted.

Present. Messrs. Aldersey, Ro. Moulson, Jos. Clubbe, Presberry, Key, Ed. Ellus, Wm. Boult, Watson, J. Roughley, Henry. Keay, Wm. Cornelius."

"March 22. 1768. This being the Day for nominating & electing Deacons according to notice given last Lords Day, Mr. John Eddowes, Mr. Philp. Presbury and Mr. Josh. Clubbe were continued and Mr. Roughley unanimously elected Deacons for the year ensuing upon the resignation of Mr. Aldersey.

Ordered that Mr. Clubbe answers Mr. Ashleys letter & return determin'd by a majority of the present Subscribers, & that no number less than two-thirds shall be considered as a majority." His signature is the most illiterate of the thirteen subscribed.

It is perfectly plain that Mr. Dix did not give Mr. Jenkins the whole information at his disposal, though it is true enough that he was not a native of Chester, and had no ancestral connection whatever with Matthew Henry's Chapel.

him thanks for his offer, but that we dont choose to give him the trouble of a Journey as he says he cannot think of a Removal.

Present. Messrs. Joseph Clubbe, John Roughley, Philip Presbury, Macgee, Pringle, Cornelius, Humphryes."

"At a meeting of this Society held on Sunday 3^{d} July 1768 It is agreed that in the future choice of a minister we are to determine by a majority of the present subscribers & that no number less than two thirds shall be consider'd as a majority.

Jos. Clubbe, John Keay, Philip Presbury, W^{m}· Boult, R. Humphryes, T. Moulson, Sam. Braddock, Henry W^{m}· Keay, W^{m}· Dix, Rob^{t}· Aldersey, John Eddowes, John Watson, Francis Grapel."

"3^{d}· April 1770. Ordered that the Rev^{d}· Mr. Robotham [educated at Daventry; minister at Freeby, Leicestershire; then Green S^{t}· Cambridge 1772–9; killed it, being "very learned"] be wrote to and requested to preach to this Society 2 or 3 Lord's Days as soon as he conveniently can as a Probationer to be Co-pastor with the present Minister the Rev^{d}· Mr. Chidlaw. That Mr. Roughley, Mr. Boult & Mr. Eaton are requested to wait upon Mr. Chidlaw to acquaint him with the above Order & desire him to write to the Rev^{d}· Dr. Kippis or any other Gentleman he shall think proper to recommend as minister to be Co-pastor with himself.

Present. Jos. Clubbe, Rob^{t}· Aldersey, Philip Presbury, Edw^{d}· Ellus, Francis Grapel, J. Roughley, Alex Eaton."

"18. April. 1770. Ordered that Mr. Eaton answer Mr. Robotham's Letter & request the Favour of him to be here on y^{e} 28th Inst. according to the purport of his Letter that he will be depended upon to preach here the 3 following Sabbaths, and that

No "Holland" is found in the lists after 1754, so that he of the deputation may be taken for what he called himself, a stranger and "a hearer only."

"The names of the nine persons" who constituted the infant Church, were, William Dix, Robert Bagley, Ellen Dimila, Mary Fearnall, John Johnson, Martha Hawkins, Esther Elizabeth Dix, Ann Taylor, Hannah Kitchens.

A careful search into our Chapel records shows that a Mrs. Dimilla subscribed 2s. 6d. quarterly in 1766, and in 1764, 1766, and 1769 there were baptised children of George Dimela, Cheesemonger, and Ellen Dimela his wife. But no Dimila is found in the lists of 1700 and 1707: through there are three Johnsons, two Fearnalls, and one Taylor, a Baggall and a Baggaly. In the Baptisms Mary Fearnall is down as having children baptised in 1764 and 1765. Though again, a Fearnall is amongst the twenty recipients of Hignett's legacy and sacrament money from 1785–1791.

A *Mr.* Hawkins and a *Mr.* Taylor are in the 1766 list of subscribers, for 4s. and 2s. 6d. respectively. Mr. Hawkins

the Society will generously discharge his Expenses, leaving it to Mr. Robotham to convey himself hither in the most convenient manner.

Jos. Clubbe, Thos. Moulson, Robt. Philpott, Philip Presbury, John Spurstow, Alex. Eaton, Humphry Sharpe, Francis Grapel, Henry Wm. Keay, David Napier, John Sharp, Wm. Cornelius, John Cook, Thos. Harrop, Wm. Boult, J. Roughley."

No further mention is made of the matter.

From Jenkins's letter it is known that Mr. Chidlaw had been ill for some time, at least in 1768. It may be further noted, "Dict. of National Biography," that Dr. Kippis, "classical and philological tutor at Coward College, Hoxton, (1767–1784), when about 14 renounced the high Calvinism in which his relations had brought him up, and subsequently [after 1770] inclined to Socinianism." [Dr. Kippis was on the London Fund, from which Chester got a grant.]

gave 2s. 6d. in 1764 and 10s. 6d. in 1763 to Chapel Repairs. We are unable to say in what relationship the women members of the Independent Church were to these men bearing the same name ; nor do we know what connections there might be between the names of 1700 and 1707. and those of a later date.

Of the names in the "Gallery" list we find one, Taylour, corresponding in the Independent Church ; but again are met by the fact that in 1708 a Widow Taylor received 2s. 6d. in charity, and Deborah Taylor 6d. in 1731.

It is thus clear that different families in the earlier time bore the same name.

Such is the sum of our research ; and readers must deduce identities and lineal descents for themselves.

The ascertained data, allowing the Dimila identity, would seem to justify the conclusions :—

1. That two subscribers out of fifty-seven seceded.
2. That one was a stranger to Chester, and that the other is found in no list of the older congregation before 1766.
3. That very shortly the name of Dix[1] was crossed out of the number of the nine, and thus
4. That member's connection between the two congregations is limited to the case of one woman.

This is not a very strong nexus ; but if those of the Independent persuasion who seceded had been the majority of the old congregation, they could have no possible title to any endowment, or a single brick in the Presbyterian Chapel. "A secession of Independents admitted in 1706 to a special gallery (which is Urwick's case) could not prove claim to, or inheritance in, the Crook Street Chapel."

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[1] This incident shows of what sturdy stuff the founders of Queen St. Chapel were. The young 'Church' was holding a preparation for the Sacrament-day. A difference of opinion arose. Mr. Dix was told he acted as a tyrannical master rather than a Christian brother. Thereupon he flaunted his purse to back his person. The little community cut him off. To-day in the Church-book stands silent witness :— ~~Wm. Dix~~

When it is added that every endowment between 1706–1768 that is specifically denominational is *Presbyterian*,[1] the matter is clinched.

This may appear idle; but it is neither Presbyterian nor Unitarian that has caused the investigation, which, nevertheless, has shown that "in leaving the Chapel and endowments in the hands of the Unitarians," the Independents who came out in 1769–1772 did the only thing that was right. Supposing they had exclusively built the Gallery—and a reference to the list will show they did not—they had had the use of "a commodious fabric" for worship during 63 years for £85, equal to a rent of 6d. a week.

Attention must now be called to Mr. Urwick's perversion of Mr. Jenkins's letter. It is manifest that the Independents have been intentionally misled by their historian, who is sane and veracious till he scents the heretic. Not only does he fail to use the letter to complement his friend's lack of information in the number of the seceders, but, in order to keep up the tradition which had become dear to the Chester Independents, he directly impeaches Mr. Jenkins's character for truthfulness. Nothing was further from the latter's desire than "to make a Party & a seperation"; yet Mr. Urwick, in words purporting to give the sense of the letter, can say what we place side by side with the original.

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[1] This, whatever else it signifies, clearly discloses the feelings of the donors. There were two Funds for the support of ministers, and, naturally, money matters would tend to be associated therewith. "Presbyterian," says Principal Gordon in *Heads*, p. 27, came to "mean simply latitude": Congregational or Independent, "doctrinal consensus." "Neither Fund raised any question about church government; but while the former was satisfied with the recommendation of neighbouring ministers, the latter needed a personal avowal of 'Evangelical Sentiments'" (p. 107). See p. 259.

Hence in 1755 Priestley broke with the Independents.

Mr. Jenkins says :—	Mr. Urwick asserts :—
I asked again whether they intended to make a Party & a Seperation from Mr. Chidlaw. The answer was clearly in the negative. Mr. Holland said they were deputed to speak to me by several other Persons, partly Baptists & partly Methodists, who had been in connection with Mr. Westley[1] but were now dissatisfied.	A deputation from Chester waited upon him to preach for the friends at Chester who *had separated from* Crook-street congregation.

A more gross adaptation of plain fact to pious desire or theological rancour is hardly imaginable.

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[1] The Octagon (Wesleyan) Chapel was opened in 1766.

"1768. Sat. April 2. I preached at little Leigh, and in the evening at Chester. At eight in the morning, Easter Day, I took *my old stand* in the little Square at St. Martin's Ash. The people were as quiet as in the House." Wesley's Journal.

Now, assuredly, it would have been an act of courage for Mr. Urwick to publish the whole letter, and thereby undermine a cherished tradition; but he adds reticence to misrepresentation.

The fact of the whole matter is, that had Mr. Urwick accepted Jenkins's authority, or Holland's, in the same confiding spirit with which he receives the account of the "indecorous manifestation of two or three of Chidlaw's Congregation," not a shred of title or claim to inheritance in the old Chapel remained. There was total collapse. It is we, who, from a thorough search of the old books, have discovered—and especially from a study of the first Cash Book dating from 1766—sundry possible connections of which Mr. Urwick was naturally unaware. These we have made known.

From Mr. Jenkins's letter it is incontrovertible that the real origin of the Queen St. Independent Chapel lies in Calvinistic Methodism; by which we mean not a particular denomination, but a standpoint of theological opinion.[1] And in this we have a parallel in the same city in the following century. The present Northgate St. Congregational Church is the outcome of a body of worshippers whose "ministry depended upon supplies drawn chiefly from the Calvinistic

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[1] Principal Gordon thinks otherwise. "Whatever demand there may have been for a stricter type of dogmatic preaching, the ostensible motive was the desire for a closer Church fellowship" (Bicentennial Address). He also seems to infer that the congregation, in part at least, was "less orthodox" than Mr. Chidlaw, since "Dr. Jenkins says not a word to indicate that Mr. Chidlaw was unorthodox."

Methodist body," and "who used the liturgy of the Church of England, till in the year 1842 the Church resolved to dispense with the reading of the liturgy, and also to adopt Congregational principles."[1]

But Mr. Urwick is too angry at the passing of the Dissenters' Chapel Bill in 1844 to give heed to such ordinary history. He loathes any association of Matthew Henry with Unitarians, even though one hundred and ten of the descendants of Philip Henry petitioned Parliament in support of the Bill. It counts for nothing with him that Presbyterian Swanland,[2] where Matthew Henry's successor came from, was already in the hands of the Independents.

"The People are much of the Methodist Stamp, and their Minister also," says Mr. Jenkins. "They do not understand the dissenting Principles, and the Minister profess'd to me to be against the application to Parliament"; that is, for relief from subscription to the Articles of the Church of England.

The Baptists were, no doubt, among those Dissenters whom Matthew Henry classed as "High"—the extreme Dissenters. A decree of their Conference in 1689, and repeated in 1742, declared that persons who, on any pretext, received the Sacrament in a parish church, were to be at once excommunicated. But though such uncompromising Dissenters, the Baptists had the cleanest record for practical tolerance of theological divergence of opinion.

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[1] "Nonconformity in Cheshire," pp. 48, 49.

[2] "Presbyterian Chapels and Charities," p. 805.

So, however much they sorrowed at departures from the old paths, they could not be religious tyrants.

Mr. Jenkins shook his head at Mr. Armitage, who was Calvinistically orthodox first and foremost, and would let liberty of Religious Thought find furtive place without Parliamentary sanction. Thus it came about that the minister of the younger congregation refused "to approve of and concur in the application to Parliament for an enlargement of the Toleration Act with respect to Dissenting Ministers and Schoolmasters, 1772." The list of those who did approve and concur is given by Mr. Urwick in his "Introduction," and is headed by "John Chidlaw, Chester."

That the new congregation took the Independent principle of Church government is not surprising, when we consider the description Mr. Dix gave of himself as a member of "ye late Dr. Watts' Church."

In the beginning of any religious society it is not usual to find many hearers willing to become avowed "members," and thus the first movers readily mould the growing body to their own form. In the case under review, there were by the end of 1772 but ten members, though we are told of "three to four hundred hearers in an afternoon." At the commencement of the year, as we have seen, there were nine, and Mr. Dix and his wife were two of them, and without doubt were the moneyed people. Moreover, Wesleyan Methodists were too Arminian; Baptists were not the majority among them; and the "Independent" way alone was open. It had, too, this sovereign grace, that if the *bonâ fide* "Church" as distinguished from the congregation of ordinary worshippers, kept sound in the faith, all was well with Calvinistic doctrine.

The Trust Deed of Matthew Henry's Chapel declared simply for religious service. A very pointed and suggestive contrast is now presented. We give[1] three of the "Articles of Faith" of the new Independent Church, three items in the "Covenant,"[2] and that portion of the Trust Deed, drawn in 1773, which concerns the minister :—

ARTICLES OF FAITH

> Agreed on by the Protestant Independent Church in the City of Chester on the Thirtyeth day of the Month of January in the Year of our Redemption One thousand Seven hundred & seventy two.
>
> 1st. We believe that there is but one God, but that there is a Trinity of persons, in the Unity of the Godhead, the Father the Son and the Holy Ghost, who are the same in their essence and substance and equal in all divine excellencies—1st of John 5. 7. There are three that bear record in Heaven, the Father the Word and the holy Ghost, & these three are one. Matt. 28. 19. Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father the Son and the holy Ghost.
>
> 4. That God from all eternity of the mere good pleasure of his will Chose a certain number out of

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[1] By the courtesy of the Deacons through the Pastor.

[2] See p. 121. There was much parting of the ways about this time; and secessions took place at Warwick, 1750; Walsall, 1762; Shrewsbury, 1766; Kidderminster, 1780. See *Midland Churches*. Three became "Independent" Churches. Kidderminster was a heterodox "Presbyterian" secession.

fal'n Mankind unto Salvation in Christ Jesus, with whom he enter'd into a Covenant of Grace as the second Adam and in him with all the Elect as his seed. Eph. 1. 4, 12, Rom. 8 29–30, Psa. 89, Jn° 17, Rom. 5.

7. We believe that justification is not by our own works or endeavors, but solely by the righteousness of Christ imputed to us & receiv'd by faith, or that what he did and suffer'd is made our righteousness & is the sole ground of our pardon and acceptance with God. Rom. 3. 20, 2 Cor. 5. 21, Rom. 5. 19, Rom. 4. 6 & 11, Chap. 5. 1, Gal. 2. 16.

8. Nevertheless we believe that without holiness no man shall see the Lord, & that good works as the fruits of faith are necessary to Salvation. John 3. 3, Heb. 12. 14, Jam. 2. 1–14.

COVENANT.

6. We promise to give and take reproof in a Christian Spirit.

7. We agree that the utmost care shall be taken in the admission of members, & that the strictest discipline shall be observed towards such as walk disorderly.

8. We agree that all Church affairs shall be put to the vote and not a fewer number than two thirds be accounted a majority.

TRUST DEED.

. . . Such minister to be of the Independent persuasion respecting Church government, and to hold, profess and embrace *ex animo* the truths comprised in the Westminster Confession of Faith & the larger and lesser Catechisms, contained therein, and also the present doctrinal articles of the Church of England in the plain, literal, and

> grammatical sense thereof; and no such Minister or Ministers shall be elected, nominated, and appointed as aforesaid, unless immediately before such election and appointment he shall solemnly declare in the presence of the members of the said Church or the major part of them his sincere approbation of the baptism of infants, & his renunciation of Arian, Socinian, Antinomian, or Arminian principles.

There follows a provision for deprivation, removal, and expulsion if the conditions are not fulfilled.

Now it is matter of public knowledge that this Trust Deed is already a negligible quantity. The present pastor of the Queen Street Independent Church, in the presence of the congregation, dissented from certain points in the "Articles of Faith." As an honest man he was right to do so; his people were right in having it so; but what of the validity of the legal documents?[1] The right and open course would be to petition Parliament to extend to all congregations having "close" trusts the provision that the usage of twenty-five years may be taken as conclusive evidence that such opinions may properly be held. A still more excellent way would be to sue for an "open" trust, and cut off "the dead hand."

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[1] "At this controversy and the complete exposure of Unitarian delinquencies I have great delight. I would die rather than utter a calumny against the persons of Unitarians, or raise a forceful finger to prevent, by persecution, the promulgation even of the doctrines they conscientiously believe. But I have always entertained and defended the opinion, now publicly and well expressed, that their appropriation to their worship of edifices and funds raised for other purposes is degrading to their body, and is an unworthy and fraudulent perversion which they can never defend." Last words in "The Manchester Socinian Controversy," 22nd Dec. 1824.

All religious people, to-day, we trust, are beginning to acknowledge that Theological Thought *must* move with greater knowledge.

We cannot refrain from saying that the tied theological trust deed causes Stagnation of Thought, engenders Hypocrisy, and creates unworthy processes of "Accommodation"; whilst, at the best, when openly contravened, it has already become a dead letter, cumbers the ground, and is useless, save for legal persecution, or the retrospect of the theological antiquary.

The practical application of the better method in the right spirit is shown in the Welcome Address to the incoming minister of the older Nonconformist congregation. It was delivered by Mr. Joseph Swanwick in 1826:—

> We anticipate in you a diligent and cautious examination of the nature and bearing of Scripture evidence, a fearless following out of truth, an annunciation of your opinions characterised by a firmness which shall mark your feeling of their importance, and by a moderation and freedom from asperity, bespeaking your respect for individual judgment, and your sense of the fallibility of that judgment. In all things, anger is a bad teacher, but in matters of religion, so purely personal, so entirely between man and his Creator, it is surely the worst of all; and in us who stand upon individual judgment and conscience, rejecting all creeds, and all human dictation, a lack of charity were an error indeed. We do therefore, my dear Sir, look to see exemplified in

your preaching and life, the character of a consistent Dissenter.

We ask you for no confession of faith. Upon the strength of what we have heard from you, and of you, upon the knowledge that you are well acquainted with the general tenor of our principles, and, being so informed, have accepted our invitation, we conclude that you are satisfied of such an agreement between us in all the leading points of religious belief, as shall qualify you for occupying satisfactorily to us and to yourself the office of a Christian minister amongst us. But we are too deeply convinced of the necessity of a judgment unshackled by public pledges, and of free and unbiassed inquiry into the momentous questions upon which it will be your duty to address us; we are too conscious of the changes which mature examination has produced in our own minds upon many points of early belief; we would, too, cautiously avoid occasion of cavilling upon small matters; and we too deeply reverence the right of private judgment, and the high tone of character and mind resulting from its free, conscientious, and diligent exercise, to wish for one instant to have any other pledge from you than that which results from the very essence of your calling as a Protestant Dissenting Minister.

I have already stated, my dear Sir, that you have been unanimously chosen as our minister; no individual of your congregation has gone unconsulted; all have been asked for their free and candid opinion; and all have given their voice for your appointment. This we conceive to be genuine ordination. There is no earthly power to improve your title, and it remains with yourself alone to seal it with that heavenly approbation and sanction with which none of your brother mortals can stamp it.

CHAPTER VIII

RECORDS UP TO THE DISSENTERS' CHAPELS ACT

THE contents of this chapter are taken from—

1. "A Register of the Briefs published in the Congregation of protestant Dissenters in the City of Chester, and the Sev'ral Sums collected upon them since Michaelmas, 1713."

2. "Disbursed on Account of the Congregation since the Beginning of April, 1715."

3. "The Cash Book, Being an Account of Monies received by Mr. John Gardner and paid for the support of the Ministry, the Repairs of the Place of Worship, and the Relief of the poor Members of the Society of Protestant Dissenters assembling in Trinity Lane in the City of Chester."

In Matthew Henry's "Short Account" we find mention of "Briefs." They were voluntary collections for "Sufferers" in various ways: but, it would appear from the Chester collections, mainly for the needs of the Established Churches. If the principle were one of mutual aid or insurance, the payments proved singularly one-sided. Either nothing ever happened to Dissenting chapels; or, if things did, such as deliberate burnings by Church-mob incendiaries, it was not considered worth while to solicit voluntary Church compensation.

The briefs in themselves had been so much abused by pilferings on the part of the collectors, and "farming" on the part of the "Sufferers," that the Act was passed "for the better collecting Charity Money on Briefs by Letters Patents, and preventing abuses in Relation to such Charities."

So, from March 25, 1706, official forms were necessary, and each was to be returned, under penalty of £50: for forging, or counterfeiting the stamp, the punishment was "one hour publicly in the pillory": whilst on a conviction of "farming," £500 was to be given to the sufferers.

The procedure was as follows:—

> (*b*) The undertakers, with all convenient speed, must send to Churchwardens and Chapelwardens of the respective Churches and Chapels, and to the respective Teachers and Preachers of every separate Congregation, and to any Person who has taught or preached in any meeting of the people called Quakers in the Counties and Places to be comprized in such Letters Patent.
>
> (*c*) Some Sunday within two months after Receipt of such copies they must be read out before the Sermon, Preaching, or Teaching, and
>
> (*d*) The sums freely thereon given are to be collected in the respective Assemblies, or by going from house to house, of the members of the respective Congregations.

Mr. Henry kept no account; but October 27, 1712, six were collected on, including, of all places in the world, Whitchurch.[1] Five, "Aprill 29, 1713," included St. Clement's, Hastings, and "Battle Bridge in Southwrack." From October 25, 1713, to October 24, 1739, the number is about 260. The amount varies from 12s. 6d. for Trinity Church, Chester, in 1728, to 1s. 1½d. for Sunderland Church in 1716, or, as we might say, to 00 00 00 in some cases. St. John's obtained altogether[1] £1,228 12s. 8½d. Towards the end, the collections in chapel were made to stand at about 2s. 0d. On May 18, 1735, for example, 8 briefs were published for collection in chapel, and one from house to house. Of the latter we have no record. Possibly "the two elders or two other substantial persons" of the Act were responsible for them. For the 8, 15s. 11d. was collected, and this divided equally would go into fractions, so 7 were allotted 2s. 0d. each and the last got 1s. 11d.

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[1] Philip Henry "was laid up in the Grave in Whitchurch Church, attended thither with a very great Company of true Mourners, all the County round. . . . And there were those who said He was a Man that nobody did or could speak Evil of, except for his Nonconformity."

Yet, "I had a letter from Mr. Travers of Lichfield that the Chancellor there designed to attempt the demolishing of my father's monument."—M. H. Diary, 1704-5.

"1712, March 22. Wrote to Cos. Eddow to return him thanks for his care this week of the remains of my dear father and mother in Whitchurch Church, where they are laying the foundations of a new one, and have unworthily invaded my right there."—M. H.

"In both points his opponents succeeded: the marble tablet was removed to the porch, and the honoured remains there (as is commonly believed) transferred to the churchyard, the exact place being kept secret for fear of further molestation. . . . Some wave of feeling was then rolling up, which reminded men of the enormous injuries both to Church and State which had been inflicted by the men with whom Philip Henry had allied himself, and how, in professing a zeal against superstition they *had torn up faith by the roots* at the same time."—M. H. Lee (a descendant of Philip Henry).

"Such is High Church," in Matthew's pithy words.

But Canon Lee has the grace to add: "In calmer moments it might have been remembered that the savage Jeffreys withheld his hand from Philip Henry."

Is it the same spirit that during the "restoration" some thirty years ago contrived to "lose" the small brass plate "under the creed, within the altar-rails in Trinity Church, Chester," to the memory of "Katharina Henry" and her husband "Matthæus Henry"?

If it could be found, the plate would have honourable place in Matthew's old chapel. But, still, "Is such High Church?"

The briefs were mostly for churches: but there were a few others.

> "Published the Brief for Will. Adams. Loss by Fire and collected upon it the summ of £00 09 03½." William Bowers had a similar loss, but he preferred house to house collection. Some 25 are specified as "loss by Fire." "Inundation in Lancashire" came Sept. 16, 1722, the "Hallifax Innundation" Sept. 13, 1729, "Sufferers by Thunder" in Staffordshire, June 18, 1721.

Some briefs got belated. "Oct. 24, 1714. Southover Church Brief, collected nothing, because out of Date before it came to hand."

A few local and other churches may be cited:—Rythin, Dollgelley, Thornton Hough, Bickley, Barnston, St. Olave's, Welsh Pool, Darwen Chappell,

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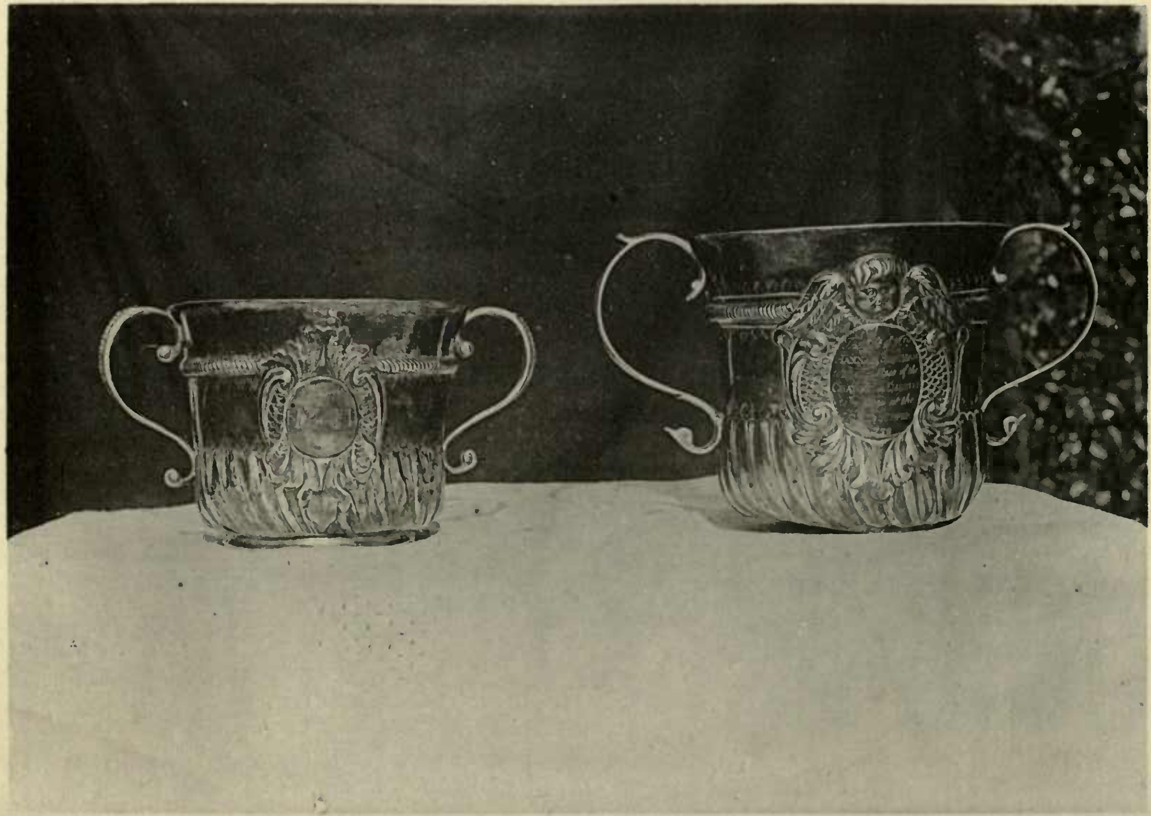
[1] "S. John Baptist, Chester."



Brighhelmston, Bangor Church in County of Flint, Frodsham, Michael Church, Ormskirke, St. Peter's Oxford, Worthenbury, Copenhagen, Melbourne, St. Michael's, Llandulas, Denbigh Chapel, Prees, Poulton, Llanarmon, Mobberley.

On February 17, $17\frac{16}{17}$, was published the "Brief for the reform'd Churches of Poland & Russia." The collectors were (1) Mr. Tho. Hitchcock, who had a subordinate Nath. Hall, and on one occasion Mr. Thomas Capper, Apparitor; (2) Isaac Hitchcock, who appears "November y^{e} 6, 1722"; then (3) James Loxdale and Thos. Perry, jointly, with a subordinate, Robt. Hodgson.

A note is appended by Hodgson "June 1^{t}, 1738" that, in addition to 6 Briefs collected upon, he had "recd. at the same time twelve more Briefs with nothing collected thereon," and Perry, "Octo^{b}. 24, 1739," took five empty away.

No surprise could be felt at the decline of these collections in Dissenting chapels, but the same thing happened in the churches, and is sometimes attributed to a decadence of religious life. Perhaps Insurance was coming into fashion. In 1763 "pd. Mr. Gardner for Briefs 19/-" is an isolated entry. An incidental mention of Briefs is made so late as April 24, 1800.

A few entries must suffice from Mr. Gardner's disbursements[1] :—

to a poor family going for Scotland 00 01 0.

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[1] From the "Register of Children baptised by me, John Gardner, since my settlement at Chester in October, 1713," we take the following :—

to a distressed Gentleman from South Wales 00 02 06.

to poor Palatines 00 01 00.

to Constable for Attendance 5/- to French Refugee 6^{d}.

to Soldiers Wifes and Widdows 2 0 0.

for paveing Court 2^{s}. 6^{d}.

for Sounding Board &c. 5^{s}. 2^{d}. Philips in Norgate 1^{s}.

to Family from New England 1^{s}. to a family going to New England 1^{s}.

to Elliot in Nor-gate 2 6. to Elliot when going away 2 6.

to Sufferers by Shipwreck 5 0. to Dutchwoman 1^{s}. to family recommended by Dr. Calamy 2^{s}.

1718. for mending Clock 1^{s}. to Broken Vinter 1^{s}. : to another 6^{d}. procureing Minister when sick 6 6.

1722. Nov^{r}. 30. to Mr. Norbury for drawing Deed of Settlement for Meeting Place 1 4 8.

Aug. 2, 1723. for making Desks and covering the Books Mr. Radford gave, 1 6 0.

We note Chester as the port for Ireland and America and "Guiny"—suggestive this of the slave trade, when a

1713. Jared Potter had a child born, baptised Oct^{r}. 7th, named Jane.

1714 (?5). Gardner, John, son of J. G., born March 18th, baptised April 7th, 1715.

1715. Weston, Margaret, of Ann Lane, Chester, was baptised April 19th. She was in the 56th or 57th year of her age, born of Anabaptist parents, educated by her Aunt, who upon her death assured her that she had never been baptised, and expressed her concern for not having told her of it sooner. The said Margaret Weston ever after this was uneasy in her mind, and at last, after much struggling with herself, told her case, and accordingly was baptised as above, in her bed, by reason of weakness.

Mackbryan, Mary, daughter of Duncan Mackbryan, born Oct. 21st, baptised Oct. 25th.

Duncan Mackbryan was killed at the Battle of Preston, Nov. 12th, 1715.

round route was taken : Chester or Liverpool—Guinea Coast—America. King William had set sail from Hoylake to Ireland on Monday, June 6, 1690, having "on Sabbath day" lain at Chester.

1720. Gardner, Mary, daughter of John Gardner, born March 31st, baptised April 21st, 1720. Denata, April 26th, 1721.

1721. Gardner, Jane . . . born Aug. 1st, baptised March 20th, 17$\frac{21}{22}$.

1723. Gardner, John and Richard, sons of John Gardner, born January 3rd, baptised January 23rd, 17$\frac{23}{24}$.

1726. Gardner, William . . . born March 17th, baptised April 7th, 1726.

[The first John must have died. It is most likely there was a daughter born at Swanland : as in the 1766 list "Miss Gardners" are mentioned.]

1763. James, son of Edward Jones, born October the 6th, baptised the 24th, 1763, by J. Gardner, junr.

1765. Martha, daughter of Thomas and Mary Fearnall, born [no date], baptised June 4th, 1765, by Richd. Gardner.

The Revd. Mr. John Gardner departed this life Nov. 2nd, 1765.

1785. The duty of three pence upon the entry of each Baptism, according to the direction of an Act of Parliament entitled "The dissenters Registry Bill," is to be paid from this time : I have taken out a License or authority from the Stamp Office in Chester (which License cost Six Shillings) to enter each Baptism without any stamp or mark affixed thereto, but subject to the payment of the duty imposed thereon. The Act took place October the first, 1785.—(Signed), John Chidlaw, Protestant dissenter Minister.

The following is a continuation of the Register by me, James Lyons.

[But he appears to have baptised none. Johnson, Thomas,—son of John and Elizabeth Johnson, was born May 12, 1810, and baptised at St. John's Church by the Revd. — Richardson, Oct. 19, 1810, whilst Henry, Frederick, and Frances Hulton, children of Joseph and Hannah Swanwick, and Francis and Mary, children of Thomas and Hannah Swanwick, were all baptised by Mr. Jenkins, May 24, 1812.]

From "An Account of Repairs, &c., Sept. 2, 1754" we find—

To Mr. Thompson for the Clock 8 8 0.
To Clock Case given by Mr. Prestbury 0 0 0.

The Cash Book is full of information that brings before us the Congregational life of long ago. Our space will only allow extracts. Readers must comment for themselves.

1766. An Account of the Quarterly Contributions, &c. received by the Deacons and Payments made to the Minister. . . . Paid to the Rev. Mr. Chidlaw for ye Mich. Qr 21 0 6. Xmas. 20 3 3. Lady Day 20 6 9. Mid. 20 6 9.

[Which amounts for the year, £81 17s. 3d.]

Dec. 6th. Paid Mr. Aldersey's Bill for Black Cloth to hang the Pulpit with upon the death of the Reverend Mr. John Gardner, late Pastor of this Congregation ... ... 1 18 6.

26th. Paid for Greet and a Beesom... 0 0 11.

Paid for Bible, Psalms, and Hymn Book ... ... 0 15 0.

Paid for the Ellements of Bread & Wine & to the Poor ... ... 14 15 6.

1767. April 21st. Paid the Rev. Mr. Chidlaw for the Road ... ... 0 10 0.

[This was the entrance from Crook's Lane, which was purchased out of money left to the Minister, the interest being allotted to him out of ordinary Chapel income.]

July 22d. Paid Matty Adams for a Quarter's Sweeping ... ... 0 10 0.

[Thos. Mullineux, "the Clarke," was evidently getting infirm, though Matty did not last long in office.]

1772. Jany. 6. By p^{d} Miss Hallatt & Mr. Presbury for Burial Expenses of Mr. Mulineaux ... ... 1 0 0.

Roger Owen succeeded as Clerk and got as Quarter's wages ... ... 0 10 0.

Rec^{d}. from Mr. Moulson — Day of May, 1772, as Chappell Plate :—

One Silver Cup the Gift of Mrs. Hannah Statham marked $_{\mathrm{I}}{}^{\mathrm{S}}{}_{\mathrm{H}}$

One Silver Cup mark M H.

Two Silver Cups the Legacy of Mrs. Mary Bevan, in a leather case.

Three Pewter Flaggons.

Nine Pewter Plates.

One Table Cloth.

A large pewter Bason.

1774. By p^{d} for 16$^{\text{cwt.}}$ of Coales 7/6 : weigh^{g} & carrying 4^{d}. 0 7 10.

[Coals in 1778 were 4½d. per cwt. Wine was 1s. 6d. per quart.]

1778. Roger Owen 5/- Mrs. Brandeth 5/-

[When the woman takes charge, 'beesoms' begin to fly, oil is wanted, and rotten stone.]

1785. Jan. 4. By given McDonald himself & Children being ill of Fevers, 10/-

[This is but a sample of numerous entries of the kind.]

1787. By p^{d} Mr. Keay for Mrs. Moreton (alias Ward).

1788. June 1st. bad Silver 18^{d}.

[For some years every collection had a similar remark; "Shillings" were the largest and most common offenders.]

1790. By a Beesom (being for 2 months) 1^{d}.

1797. Dec. 26. To Cash from Mrs. Leckonby for the Clark 2/6.

1799. Cash from D. Aldersey designed for the late Jonathan Gouldson upon conditions he refused to comply with, 1 0 0.

Dec. 1. By Candles used in the Vestry 9½ᵈ.

1800. April 24. Mr. Thomas for briefs.

Sept. 6. By pd. Mr. Thos. Moulson cash to finish paying Taylor for the Bass Viol 8/-

1802. Jan. 1. Cash from Mr. Thomas Swanwick being an arrears wᶜʰ he supposed was due from him to the sacramental collection 1 10 0 [cf. 1811].

1803. May 23. By pᵈ Mrs. Lincy, Schoolmistress, as a donation 10/6.

Dec. 20. Lewis for taking the snow off the Chapel Roof 2/6.

[Lewis was Clerk. He earned his 2/6 by shovelling snow off the roof and clearing the walks on the following dates: 1806, March 15; 1807, Nov. 27; 1808, Feb. 12; 1809, Jan. 6 and Feb. 4; 1810, Dec. 22; 1811, Feb. 1; 1814, Jan. 23; 1816 (no date); 1819, Nov. 6. The last act was that year, "Nov. 23. paid Chairmen for carrying Lewis to Infirmary 2/6."]

1805. Feb. 26. By pd. half the postage of London letter 4½ᵈ.

1807. July 28. By cash to Jno. Jones for a new Table Cloth for the Communion 1 1 0.

1808. To a collection made amongst the Members of the Chapel to discharge the bills for erecting the new steps on the East side of it[1]; repairing the windows, &c., &c., 13 13 6.

[Over £30 was spent on chapel, besides.

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[1] The flight of steps on the west side was removed about the year 1846. So I gather from "Romney," who gives a picture of the front with these steps on the right.

"Repairing Roof" becomes a too familiar item after this:—1811, 2 12 4; 1812, 2 10 0, &c., down to 1898.]

1809. Jany. To Police Tax to Midsummer & Christmas 3/-

[In 1812 this tax was 6/-]

April 3. At a vestry meeting held this day it was ordered that the Pulpit be hung with black cloth as a mark of respect for our late worthy minister, the Revd. Wm. Thomas, and a collection be made to defray the said expence.

1810. Jan. 8. To Base money 8/-

April 9. To Danl. Aldersey's bill for covering the pulpit 11 11 0.

Subscription to Repairs &c. 34 14 6.

[For this and renewing the Trust Deeds, &c., it was recommended "that each member of this Society do pay a sum equal to their half-yearly subscription."]

1811. April 7. To p^{d} Mr. Jno. Swanwick for paying his subscription to the repairs last year twice over 1 11 6.

Sept. 4. Mr. Brassey for a spade 5/-

Nov. 3. Carting Stones &c. from the Chapel Yard 1/6.

1812. A pitch pipe 7/6.

1809–13. Persons who guaranteed the Treasurer to pay the Revd. J. Lyons £150 per annum. Nine guarantors made up total deficit of £64 13 5. The tenth died.

1815. Mr. Davies for covering the Communion Table & Seats 2 10 0.

1816. April 6. Brush Whisk & 1 cwt. coals 7/-

Sept. 2. Singer 3 Sundays 7/6; ½ y^{r} 1 5 0.

1818. Jan. 12. To paid Covering the Pulpit on the Death of Princess Charlotte 8 3 6.

1820. Jan. 5. Cash p^{d} for Sconces &c. for Pulpit 1 13 0.

1819. Organ Subscription: Sudworth, Moulson, Cropper, R. Aldersey, Boult, F. Frost, Lyons, Murray, Jno. Johnson, Swanwick, Broadbent, Miss Cockrane, Long, Jas. Johnson, A. Frost, Mrs. Moulson, Miss Boult, Lowe, Capper, Miss Sharpe, Hill, Ankers, Thos. Nicholls, Hassall. The Old Violoncello sold for 3 0 0. Total cost 141 11 0.

1820. Dec. 8. Miss Grindrod, organist, a year's salary 12 0 0.

1821. Jan^{y} 30. Organ Boy 1 0 0
May 19. Mason for Coping Stones 15 8 6.
Sept. 15. Repairing Mr. Bakewell's Seat 8/11.

1822. Jan. 17. Resolved, that Mr. Boult be requested to negotiate with Mr. Taylor to instruct the young people of the congregation to sing, and the expence be defrayed out of the fund for the education of Children. That a committee be appointed consisting of the following gentlemen to ascertain the best mode of warming the Chapel, Mr. Js. Johnson, Mr. Broadbent, Mr. Sudworth. [" James Lyons " signs the list.]

1823. Jan. 23. Mis Fletcher, organist, ½ y^{r} 5 0 0.
Resolved, that application be made to Mr. Maddock, Slater, to know upon what terms he will contract to keep the roof of the Chapel in repair, as well as those of the Alms houses in Trinity lane and Handbridge. [The slater knew better.]

1826. April 26. Mr. Bakewell, 2 years Association 2 2 0.
April 26. Mr. Bakewell Balance of Lecture Acct. 4 4 6.
To Cash p^{d} Rev Wm. Bakewell, Feb. 4, 1820, to April 29, 1826: 455 13 2½.

Mr. Bakewell for the School 15 1 6.

[This was from Dean's legacy for the Education of Poor Children. In 1811 Mrs. Hannah was paid £2, then Miss Harrop £5 a year till 1815; Mr. Bakewell £15 in 1817, and £15 again in 1824. "1823. To p^d Worrall for instructing Ball & Meredith 16/4. 1826, p^d for Robert's Instruction 7/-." In 1828 we find W. Ball and Miss Harrop as teachers at £10 a year each. Ball was still teacher in 1834, and attended the Coronation in 1838.]

April 30. At a meeting of the members of the Crook's Street Unitarian Congregation held in the vestry—it was communicated by our treasurer that Robert Aldersey, Esq. had on the previous Friday presented to the Chapel the fee simple of the small houses belonging to him adjoining the Chapel yard.

June 25. Supplies previous to Mr. Aspland's Arrival, 8 8 0. To paid Mr. Aspland on his trial visit, April 26, 1826, 10 0 0.

1827. Jan. 13. Griffiths, 26 Dec^r printing ordination service 20 9 0.

1828. Dec. 18. Huxley, engrossing petitions C. & T. Acts 13/-

[The Rev. R. Aspland visited in the autumn some of the principal Unitarian congregations of the North-west of England, as a deputation from the Unitarian Association. Collections: Northampton, £10; Liverpool, Paradise Street Chapel, £39 3s.; Manchester, Cross Street, £28 14s.; Bolton, £10 9s. 6d,; Chowbent, £5 16s. 4d.; Manchester, Moseley Street, £16 4s. 2d., Dukinfield, £20; Manchester, Greengate, £11 15s. 3d.; Hyde, £12 12s.; Chester, £40; Warrington, £11.—"Memoirs" by R. B. Aspland.]

1829. Jan. 11. Huxley, engrossing petitions C. & T. Acts 7/6.

April 1. New Trust Deeds Mar. 15, 1826, Chapel, 16 19 10.

To paid Revd. R. B. Aspland on his trial visit April 26, 1826, 10 0 0.

By Cash, Revd. R. B. Aspland's Ordination Services 14 8 0.

[It was with regard to these that Mr. Swanwick uttered the words, "But it is possible, we think, to be 'superstitiously afraid of superstition.'"]

1830. June 14. Two years' Subscription to the Civil Right Fund per Mr. Aspland 2 2 0.

1831. April 13. One years' Subscription to Unitarian Association 1 1 0.

Nov. 28. Advertising & Cards for Lectures 1 1 0.

Dec. 24. P^d Taylor Tuning Organ 1 yr. 1 0 0.

1832. Jan. 18. That the School Acct. being in debt & the Funds for this Expence not equal to what is requisite, & the number attending at the Girls' School being very few—it is ordered that that school be given up at the end of the present Quarter, viz., 25 March next. The Boys' School to be continued.

April 18. Advertising Lectures 6/6.

Dec. 29. " " 9/-.

1834. Feb. 12. For Repairs to Windows fractured by a Storm 1 8 8.

Jan. 18. T. & I. Dixon, timber for gates 1 14 6.

Feb. 10. Williams for making New Gate 2 14 3.

Aug. 12. Sacramental Collection for the funeral expences of the late Mrs. Lewis 1 15 0.

Nov. 9. Moreland cleans Clock 2/-

1835. March 15. Chapel Expenses. Collected, & proposed to be Quarterly, 3 17 5.

Aug. 30. Ditto. Collected at Doors 3 3 4.

[The spasmodic efforts to get money in regularly are ludicrous. Quarterly collections were instituted, only to fall through. They have been regular since 1897. In early years money was always forthcoming when wanted, except when newly appointed ministers wished to be relieved of the task of school-keeping to eke out a decent living.]

Dec. 31. School Account. New Stoves and Pipes 1 6 2.

1836. Mar. 6. To Presbyterian Association Collected from different persons 41 5 0. Sent to Rev. R. Aspland, Hackney :

Mrs. Aldersey,	Donation	10 10 0.	Sub.	1 1 0.
Miss Cockrane	,,	10 10 0.	,,	1 1 0.
Chapel	,,	10 10 0.	,,	2 2 0.

April 18. Walter Perry, son of Rev^{d} J. Perry of Liverpool £10.

April 26. To the Son of Rev^{d} Dr. Carpenter of Bristol, who is going to Glasgow £20.

[From 1810–1817 are entries "Academy at York" £10 to £20. Sept. 19, 1813, £10 was voted to Hackney, the Unitarian Academy over which the Rev. R. Aspland presided.]

Jan. 12, 1818, p^{d} Mr. Roberds for Minister at York £20.

July 26, 1819, to cash remitted Mr. Wood for do., do. £20.

Oct. 21, 1819, p^{d} Jos. Wicksteed 1 year's exhibition £20.

(Also 1820, 1821, 1823.)

From the Original Chapel Book :—

Aug. 1, 1738. "Philip Holland, son of Mr. Thomas Holland, Minister of the Gospel in Wem, who is now going under the Tuition of Dr.

Dodderidge of Northampton" . . . ten pounds for ensuing three years.

Jan. 3, 1738. "Mr. George Hampton of Wrexham, a Student of Divinity, lately returned from Glasgow, hath been recommended to us as a Sober Studious promising young Man," ten pounds.

July 31, 1744. Further sum of ten pounds granted to Mr. John Spilsbury Witton, son of y^{e} Revd. Mr. Witton of West Bromwich.

Aug. 7, 1741. "John Gardner, Son of Mr. John Gardner, Minister of the Gospel in Chester, who is now going under the Tuition of Dr. Dodderidge of Northampton in order to improve himself to the Study of Divinity," ten pounds for three years.

July 31, 1744. Richard Gardner, second son—ten pounds, & again if so much shall (Aug. 1, 1745) then be in the hands of the Trustees.

Jan. 12, 174$\frac{6}{7}$. Richd. Gardner "the further summ of ten Pounds."

Oct. 15, 1746. "John Holland, son of Mr. Thos. Holland, Minister of the Gospell in Wem," a further sum of ten pounds.

Oct. 16, 1759. The Summ of £7 7 0 was paid into the Hands of the Revd. Mr. Francis Boult for the use of his nephew John Boult.

March 24, 1760. Ditto.

Aug. 14, 1765. £7 7 0 to Thos. Hughes of Salop for the use of his son's education for the ministry.

Dec. 24, 1766. Ditto.

Dec. 30, 1767. Ditto.

Dec. 30, 1768. £7 7 0 to W. Billingsley, Student at Dr. Ashworth's Accadimy.

Dec. 26, 1769. £7 10 0 ditto.

Dec. 1771. 9 9 0 hath been paid by Thos. Moulson for the benefit of Mr. Wm. Hassall & Joseph

Smith at the Warrington Accadimy for y^e year 1770 & 1771.

From Cash Book :—

July 11, 1818. . . . ordered that £20 be remitted to the treasurer of the new college Manchester now at York for the use of a divinity Student and that it be Stated that for the present this donation will be otherwise applied.

Ordered that a further sum of £20 be given as an exhibition to Mr. Jos. H. Wicksteed, son of Mr. Wicksteed of Shrewsbury, to assist him to prosecute his studies for the ministry at the university of Glasgow, the trustees being much pleased by the testimonials produced of his dispositions, talents and acquirements. [Mr. Wicksteed, elder brother of Rev. Charles Wicksteed, was drowned while a Glasgow Student.]

Jan. 15, 1830. Resolved that Mr. Chas. Wickstead have Twenty pounds for the ensuing year from the Fund for the Education of Dissenting Ministers.

Jan. 13, 1831. Ditto.

Sept. 22, 1832. Ordered that Mr. Arthur Whitelegg (of Manchester) have Twenty Five pounds from the Fund for Education of a Dissenting Minister.

April 13, 1836. That a Sum of £20 be given from the Education Fund to the son of Dr. Carpenter of Bristol, who is going to Edinboro—and a further sum of £10 be given to Mr. Walter Perry (son of Revd. Mr. Perry of L'pool.) who is going to Germany to complete his Studies. [Wm. Benjamin Carpenter, M.D., LL.D.; W. Copland Perry, Ph. D.]

Jan. 20, 1837. £10 each to Mr. Philip Carpenter and Mr. Wm. Whitelegge.

1837, Jan. 20. By Presbyterian Association: Donation to the Lancashire & Cheshire Association 10 0 0. The subscriptions for Chapel Expences & Music in the year 1835 enabled the Treasurer to pay off the old debts & to complete the Repairs. The expences for the present year have been less than usual & within the income, arising partly from a saving between the Salary paid formerly to the Organist & and that now paid to a singer. The Duties of Organist having been performed by Mr. Boult, to whom the thanks of the Congregation are due, & the present Meeting accord their acknowledgements, & trust Mr. Boult will make it convenient to continue his Services.—It having been thought advisable that an additional singer be engaged: Resolved that the gentlemen of the Orchestra be empowered to engage one.

Jan. 24. By Mr. Maurice's travelling expenses to attend a meeting of the Manchester Association 1 7 6.

Dec. 2. Licensing the Chapel 0 3 6.
Registering „ 3 0 0.

Dec. 30. Wm. Weaver insuring Chapel 13 6. [It had been 12/6.]

1837–8. Presbyterian Association 5 0 0.

Memorandum: Minister waited upon Members of Congregation & collected £26 5 for sufferers in Islands & Highlands of Scotland owing to failure of crops the preceding year.

1838. Dec. 31. School Acct. p^{d} Mr. Ball for expenses incurred attending Coronation 1 5 4.

[Mr. Ball resigned his situation as a teacher in the Chapel Schools 1841.]

1840. Jan. 26. Received from Mr. Thomas Moulson, preceding Treasurer, £150 1 0, F. A. Frost.

1842. Mr. Maurice's salary raised to £150.

1843. March 1. Presbyterian Association 8 8 0.

„ 31. Tentry Heyes Almshouses. Income Tax 0 2 10.

April 21. Messrs. Potts & Brown for new Trust Deeds &c., 61 15 6.

1844. April 10. Pd for ½ skin parchment for petitions 10½d.

Coachman: turnpikes on journey to Eaton 3s. 9d.

April 16. Nickson for Coach to Eaton Hall 10/-

[A Petition in favour of the Dissenters' Chapel Bill was presented from the City of Chester by Lord R. Grosvenor.]

April 17. Postage of letters & Petition 1/4.

„ 18. Cutter for petition 12/6.

May 13. 3 skins parchment 5/3.

„ 14. Subscription towards procuring the Chapel Bill 10 0 0.

„ ½ skin Parchment 10½d.

June 1. Whittall for procuring signatures to the petition from Roman Catholics 5/-.

June 3. Skin of Parchment 1/9.

6. Cutter for 3 petitions 1 8 6.

„ Postages for Circulars to Members of Parliament &c., 2/6.

28. Fletcher for 150 Copies of Petition 10/-

Aug. 7. Kinder for Advertising in Inquirer 1 1 0.

Oct. 11. Chronicle office for Advertising &c. 1 2 6.

It will be well here to give a brief statement of the different associations mentioned above.

Lindsey and Priestley are virtually their founders.

Lindsey left all but conscience for conscience sake, and opened a Unitarian chapel; Priestley undauntedly attacked the orthodox system. The quiet old chapels experienced an unwonted stir; and began to discover there was zest in life, and that a new spirit, though strange, was not undesirable. The visible fruits were in 1783, a "Society for promoting the Knowledge of the Scriptures"; in 1791, the "Unitarian Society for promoting Christian Knowledge and the Practice of Virtue by the Distribution of Books."

In 1813 an Act was passed "to relieve Persons who impugn the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity from certain Penalties." These penalties were, in England, the forfeiture of citizenship, and imprisonment; in Scotland, death. They were not actually imposed: though, in Mr. Belsham's words, "an eminent saint had attempted to revivify the dormant statute, and had thus been of infinite service to Unitarians."

The objects and need of the "Association for protecting the Civil Rights of Unitarians," founded in 1819, can be best given in the proposer's words:—

> "It was expedient . . . from the general obloquy to which they were exposed, the insecurity of the basis on which the civil rights of Unitarians rested, and the disposition of reputed orthodox Dissenters to deprive Unitarians of their hereditary religious property. He repeated Mr. William Smith's opinion, declared to Lord Liverpool on that nobleman's expressing a hope that Unitarians would be satisfied with the Trinity Bill, 'No, my Lord, we shall not be satisfied while one disqualifying statute in matters of religion remains on the books.'"

There were twenty-five years of stress before the Unitarians. They gained the reform in the Marriage Law in which all Dissenters shared; they did at least their part in helping on the Repeal of the Corporation and Tests Act; and when their chapels were endangered, it was thought necessary to don an ancient garment; and the Presbyterian Association was formed specially to defend their rights in the old meeting places. The Dissenters' Chapel Bill met with bitter opposition. It was set up "to legalise fraud"—so said Lancashire Independent College; it was the "Lord Chancellor's infamous Unitarian Bill," howled a newspaper. The Dissenting Deputies, the Wesleyan Committee of Privileges, the Congregational Union, the Baptist Union, opposed furiously, and at a meeting in Manchester an eloquent Evangelical Churchman styled the Bill "a highly unjust and dangerous measure."

But it became law July 19, 1844.

The skins of parchment bought at 1s. 9d. each had not gone for nothing.

The reference above to Catholics and the Petition is well illustrated by a saying of O'Connell's, when in Pentonville prison. "The long schooling Roman Catholics had had during the struggle for Catholic Emancipation, and since then for repeal, had engraven the name of religious freedom upon their hearts."

One result of the Bill was the general repairing and enlarging of the old chapels.

The following note is from the Chapel Register, on the burial of Mr. John Foulkes, Nov. 15, 1848:—

"Mr. Foulkes was a Trustee of the Chapel, and an active member of the Congregation. He was Treasurer at the time of the passing of the Dissenters' Chapels Bill, and greatly aided the exertions in Chester which were made to obtain that Bill. He was further mainly instrumental in altering and improving the Chapel, which was done at a cost of £550. M.M."

The only notice of these alterations and improvements is the following:—

July 23rd, 1844. At a Vestry Meeting held this day: Present — Messrs. Frost, Foulkes, M. Frost, Parry, Moreland, E. Johnson,

Resolved—That the Treasurer be requested to obtain estimates from Mr. Royle, Builder,

for repairing the roof of Chapel.

„ Converting the space under the gallery into school rooms—and also for repewing the whole of the Chapel.

That Mr. Maddocks be applied to for Estimates

repairing the Roof.

Plastering & Colouring the whole of the Chapel.

That Mr. Evans, bricklayer, be applied to for Estimate for

Building up a 9 in. wall to divide the proposed School from the Chapel.

Resolved—That a general Subscription be entered into for the above purpose, & that Mr. Maurice be requested to announce the same after each Service next Sunday. (See p. 222.)

The meeting held on August 6, 1844, "on occasion of the passing of the Dissenters' Chapels Bill" is noteworthy:

Present—Mr. F. A. Frost, Chairman, Rev^{d} M.

Maurice, Rev^{d} Ja^{s} Parry, Messrs. Hassall, Holloway, Ja^{s} Holloway, Edw^{d} Johnson, John Foulkes, John Brassey, Moreland, John Holloway, Sam^{l} Parry.

The following resolutions were passed :—

1st. Proposed by the Rev^{d} Mortimer Maurice and seconded by the Rev^{d} Ja^{s} Parry—That the Members of this Congregation, deeply impressed with the conviction that "nothing cometh to pass when the Lord commandeth it not," desires to express their gratitude to Almighty God for the protection which has been afforded to them, in the possession of the place of Worship in which they have been accustomed regularly to assemble, which they received from their ancestors and predecessors, who for a long series of years held similar religious opinions to their own, and which has become especially endeared to them from the sacred associations connected from their departed relatives and friends whose earthly remains repose around its walls.

2nd. Proposed by Mr. Edw^{d} Johnson, seconded by Mr. John Brassey :—That this Congregation freely and thankfully confess their obligation to the Lord Chancellor (Lord Lyndhurst), Sir Robert Peel and the other members of Her Majesty's Government, for their introduction of the Dissenters' Chapels Bill into Parliament, and for their persevering support of a measure recommended to them only by its justice and by its tendency to promote the cause of Religious Liberty.

3rd. Proposed by Mr. Hassall, seconded by Mr. Jo. Holloway :—That this Congregation tender the expression of their sincere gratitude to Lord Robert Grosvenor for his presentation of their petitions, for his superiority to prejudice and for his firm attachment to principles of Justice and the law of Christian Charity, as evinced in his disinterested and consistent support of the Dissenters' Chapels Bill.

4th. Proposed by Mr. John Foulkes, seconded by Mr. Moreland :—That the warmest thanks of this Congregation are due to those numerous and highly respected members of the Established Church, to the members of the Catholic Church, and to those individuals of various dissenting denominations in this City, who, unprejudiced by difference of religious sentiment, acknowledged the moral and equitable claim of this Congregation to protection in the possession of religious property from which no conditions in the trusts excluded them, and generously petitioned Parliament in favour of the Dissenters' Chapels Bill.

5th. Proposed by Mr. Moreland, seconded by Mr. Holloway :—That the thanks of this meeting be given to the General Committee of the Presbyterian Union in London for their great and untiring efforts to ensure the success of the Bill.

6th. Proposed by the Revd. Jas. Parry, seconded by Mr. Moreland :—That the affectionate thanks of the Congregation be presented to the Revd. Mortimer Maurice, for his sermon on occasion of the passing of the Dissenters' Chapels Bill, and that his consent be requested for its publication.

7th. Proposed by Mr. John Foulkes, seconded by Mr. Holloway :—That these Resolutions be advertised in the Inquirer & the two Chester papers.

8th. Proposed by Mr. Edwd. Johnson, seconded by Mr. Parry :—That the thanks of the meeting be given to Mr. Frost for his able services in the Chair.

That the Vestry desired to avail itself of its freedom is evidenced by its request to the minister, March 14, 1849.

That as it appears to many of the members of the Congregation that increased interest would be given to the Chapel Services by a course of Lectures on Doctrinal Subjects, that a meeting be held at which Mr. Maurice be requested to attend, when such proposal and any other measures likely to contribute to the welfare of the Chapel be brought forward, and

That the Treasurer be requested to arrange such a meeting.

F. A. FROST. WM. LOW.
THOS. MORELAND. BRYAN JOHNSON.
EDWD. JOHNSON.
THOS. G. FROST, JUNR.

This chapter will fitly close with some extracts from the sermon preached in the "Presbyterian Chapel, Crook Street, Chester, July 28, 1844," "To the Congregation of Protestant Dissenters, assembling in Crook Street Chapel, Chester, at whose request this sermon is published, it is inscribed by their Affectionate Friend and Minister, Mortimer Maurice." It is entitled "Christian Liberty":—

> GALATIANS v. i.: "Stand fast therefore in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage."
>
> . . . My Christian friends, let me observe that Christ hath freed us, not only from the bondage of the Jewish ceremonial law, but, in the high concerns of conscience and religion, from all human authority. . . . It is our duty and our highest interest to ascertain what our Master taught. . . .
>
> There are then, my brethren, three great principles, the recognition of which to their full extent is essential to Christian liberty—that Christ is the sole head of the Church ; that the Scriptures are the only rule of faith ; and that the exercise of private judgment in

their interpretation is both a right and a duty. . . . At the Reformation, the principles which alone could justify this right were not thoroughly adopted. . . .

It was from no love of singularity, no wish to be founders of sects, no absurd enthusiasm, no insane ambition to be distinguished in the records of martyrdom, that they ("the 2,000"—"the noble band of outcasts from episcopal sympathy and ecclesiastical honours") resigned their wordly prospects and resolved, at whatever risk, not to obey a soul-enslaving decree ("the Act of Uniformity"; "one of the unrighteous Acts, which religious bigotry, or perhaps State policy, dictated in the reign of Charles the Second"). No! they were actuated by the fear of God, by respect to their own dignity and responsibility as rational and immortal beings, and by an invincible attachment to the cause of intellectual and Christian liberty. These sufferers for conscience' sake, though ejected from the Church and followed by persecuting enactments, exercised their ministrations in secrecy, as opportunity offered, among those who sympathised with them, and gave rise to that form of Protestant Dissent with which we are connected—the main principle which establishes our relation to our non-conformist forefathers being that of non-subscription to articles of faith imposed by human authority.

In the process of investigation, the successors of the early nonconformists (being unshackled by a legal creed, and making only those occasional and voluntary confessions of faith which were dictated by their convictions and feelings at the time), following out the great principles which were bequeathed to them, modified some of the opinions which their ancestors entertained, and obtained new views of the meaning of many passages of Scripture. Hence from the legitimate application and extension of the principles of the Reformation, and from the increased activity given to these principles by the persecuting act of uniformity, and, I must add, from the natural tendency of unbiassed examination of the Scriptures to induce more correct views of their truths, arose Unitarianism, or rather I would say, it found a renewed existence after a general though not universal banishment from the world, occasioned by the corrupting encroachments of oriental philosophy upon the primitive faith. Such is the general history of the congregations in this country now called Presbyterian, from their descent, or in allusion to their distinctive doctrine—Unitarian.

The origin of this particular society is well known. The first minister who preached within these walls, son of one of the most eminent for piety and learning of the ejected non-conformist ministers, seems to have imbibed much of the liberal and Christian spirit of his excellent and truly noble father; and in conjunction with his friends and congregation, carefully to have abstained from attempting to entail upon his successors creeds or conditions which might prove a snare to their consciences.

Finding therefore no expressed restriction from the conscientious exercise of Unitarian worship in this house of prayer—although we fully admit that the first worshippers here entertained Trinitarian opinions—we feel not a doubt of our moral right to a place which owed its origin to non-conformity—to the principle of non-subscription to articles of faith—which has been regularly and peacefully occupied by successive generations of the same families of like faith with ourselves—and, until very recently by direct descendants of some of the earliest worshippers and trustees—around which are gathered the earthly remains of our departed relatives and friends, and which has thus become endeared to us by those sacred associations with which the stranger should not desire to intermeddle. Thus much on the subject of our moral right to the house in which we worship.

Our legal right until recently was questionable. . . . We feel deeply thankful to Almighty God that he has influenced our rulers to a work of justice, to which, from the peculiarity of its bearings, it might have been inferred that they would have no natural inclination — to the protection of those sacred rights of conscience, which, from their position and their sympathy with the strict discipline and clearly defined faith of the Episcopal Church, it might have been imagined they would little understand. . . .

We would withdraw all unjust suspicion of illiberality as attaching necessarily to any particular party, and we would cordially co-operate with all, however designated, who have really at heart, and who would judiciously promote the cause of justice, and charity, and peace in the world. We are grateful, further, to those numerous and highly respected individuals of different communions in this city who have evinced their sympathy with us in the crisis which we have lately gone through, and who contributed all in their power to the success of that measure of protection, which they considered one of simple justice.

To the opponents of religious liberty we can speak in a spirit of candour and forgiveness. For the most part, we doubt not, they were actuated by conscientious though mistaken views. . . .

Henceforth we take our stand among our fellow Christians (and, thanks be to God, our position has at last become recognised by the law of our country) as thorough and uncomprising friends of the right of private judgment. We are opposed, let me repeat, to the use of all confessions of faith not literally taken from the Scriptures. We would not, if we had the power, lay our descendants and successors under the obligation to think and profess in matters of doctrine

> exactly as we do; nor would we deprive them of any temporal advantages which we might be enabled to transmit, though we were certain that their opinions would be diametrically opposite to our own. We set a high value upon our Unitarian views and sentiments, but we value the principles of Christian liberty more. We would leave the deep things of God to be examined by the impartial judgment of after generations; and we could not presume to bias that judgment by availing ourselves of the principles of law and property to perpetuate our characteristic opinions. And this we would abstain from doing, through a firm faith in an over-ruling Providence, and from a thorough conviction that whatever changes he ordains or permits in human opinion will be made to produce ultimate good.
>
> But although we carry out the right of free enquiry beyond the extent to which it is allowed by most other sects of Christians, and in consequence find ourselves separated from them on important points of doctrine, we acknowledge joyfully a bond of connexion, which they may be slow to recognise. We regard them as brethren—as sons of God—as fellow heirs with us of immortality. . . .

Mr. Maurice closed his address by quoting from the sermon delivered by Matthew Henry, at the opening of the Chapel:—"We are far from engrossing religion and the Church to ourselves, and those of our own way, or thinking that we are the only elect people of God; from our hearts we abhor and renounce all such narrow principles as are contrary to Catholic Christianity, and undermine its sure and large foundations."

CHAPTER IX

THE MINISTERS

THE Congregation owed its origin to the Act of Uniformity, 1662. Its open and avowed existence varied as the enforcement of the Law, and the sunshine of Indulgences. From 1672 its life has been continuous: though sometimes secret. In 1684–87 there was a partial merging with John Harvey, the Independent, less numerically complete, however, than the coalescence of the Independent with the Presbyterian from 1706 to 1769. It is significant, that on the Declaration of Indulgence by Charles II., in 1672, William Cooke's house called White Fryars received a "Presbyterian" licence; and Anthony Henthorne's house received a "Congregational" licence for the same William Cooke. Mr. Harvey's personal temperament alone prevented Matthew Henry becoming his assistant. Attention, too, may be called to the fact that the house of Hugh Harvey (Urwick says, probably a kinsman, if not a mistake for *John*) had a registered "Presbyterian" licence, as also had the house of John Glendole. In the following anatomy of dates and names we are indebted to the list in the *Record of the Provincial Assembly of Lancashire and Cheshire* (G. E. Evans); also, for some corrections and interesting additions, to Principal Gordon, who, untiring in pursuit himself, freely pours forth of the stores of his treasure-house to any seeking tyro.

If this book should gain funds sufficient to raise a brass tablet in the chapel, it would be only just and fair to name *all* those ministers who honoured themselves and gave example to others, by leading in conscientious worship to God in this city before the Toleration Act.

WILLIAM TONG, 1687 (*about* 3 *months*), *pp.* 77, 79.

B. 24 June, 1662 (son of "Wm. Tonge, chapman of Worsley," who was approved for a ruling elder in the congregation at Ellenbroocke, by the Manchester Classis, 10 Aug., 1658); *ed.* Rathmell, by Richard Frankland, M.A., 2 Mar., 1681; *ord.* 4 Nov., 1687; *min.* Chester, 1687; Knutsford, 1687–89; Coventry, 1690–1702; London, Salter's Hall,[1] 1703–27; *d.* 21 Mar., 1727.

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[1] Mr. Tong was one of the Subscribers at Salter's Hall. Walter Wilson (quoted in *Presbyterian Chapels and Charities*, p. 168) says Mr. Tong, though he ranked with the Presbyterian denomination, yet associated very much with the Independents. Dr. Lardner, on the other hand, a non-Subscriber, was brought up an Independent, but ministered, after 1729, among the Presbyterians.

These statements show the existence of some denominational cross-currents. But it is not without significance, that Mr. Tong was one of the four London Presbyterian Ministers—all Subscribers—who in 1719 published *The Doctrine of the Blessed Trinity Stated and Defended;* whilst Dr. Lardner was soon to write the *Letter on the Logos*, which (1767–68) made Priestley a Socinian.

Cf. p. 153 n.

"Mr. *Henthorne* received Mr. *T.* into his House, gave him a most Kind Entertainment, in everything treating him as if he had been his nearest Relation. To his House the People resorted beyond all Expectation; they only met at first between the Hours of Publick Worship; most of them went to hear Dr. *Fog* and Dr. *Hancock*, whose ministry they blessed God for; but at Noon and again in the Evening they flocked to Mr. *Henthorne's*. . . . Their Numbers increased every Day, and some time before Mr. *Henry* came, they found it necessary to provide a larger Place; here again Mr. *Henthorne* was ready to supply them a pretty large Out-building, part of the Friery which belonged to him was pitched upon to be the Place. They set to work one *Munday* Morning, and before the Week's end they had it in that Forwardness that the next Lord's Day it was opened."—TONG, p. 95.

1.—MATTHEW HENRY, *June* 2, 1687—*May* 11, 1712.

B. 18 Oct., 1662, at Broad Oak, Flintshire. *Ed.* Islington, by Thomas Doolittle, 21 July, 1680—Sept., 1680; Gray's Inn, 6 May, 1685–87; *ord.* 9 May, 1687, in London; *min.* Chester, 1687–1712; London, Hackney, 18 May, 1712—22 June, 1714; *m.* (1) (19 July, 1687) Katherine (*d.* 14 Feb., $168\frac{8}{9}$, age 25), dau. of Samuel Hardware, of Bromborough. *Issue*, Katherine, *m.* (a) Wittar, (b) Yates, (c) Ravenshaw: (2) (8 July, 1690) Mary, dau. of Robert Warburton, of Hefferston Grange. *Issue*, Elizabeth (*d. infant*); Mary (*d. infant*); Esther (*b.* 1694), *m.* Thomas Bulkley; Ann (*d. infant*); Philip Henry (*b.* 1700), assumed mother's name of Warburton, M.P. Chester from 1742 (*d.* 16 Aug., 1760); Elizabeth (*b.* 1701), *m.* John Philpot (*d.* 1752); Sarah (*b.* 1703), *m.* Bailey Brett of West Bromwich; Thedosia (*b.* 1708), *m.* Randall Keay, of Whitchurch, Salop; Mary (*b.* 1711), *m.* William Brett of West Bromwich; *d.* 22 June, 1714, at Nantwich; *bur.*, with great respect, in Trinity Church, Chester.

Words spoken in 1742 by Dr. Latham[1] at the burial of Mr. Bradshaw, Dissenting Minister at Kidderminster—"His friends promised themselves another Matthew Henry in him"—serve to show the esteem in which Mr. Henry was held. A set essay on our divine and commentator is found to be beyond the limits of our space, and to be at all satisfactory a very long chapter would have been not too ample. The "Commentary"[2] will be found in every Public Library: so here it may be well to serve specimens of the sometimes quaint fare which Mr. Henry presented to his congregation (*Miscellaneous Writings.* PRINTED FOR SAMUEL BAGSTER IN THE STRAND—undated, and containing some 900 pp.).

"What is Christianity, but having our conversation in Heaven, trading with the New Jerusalem, and keeping up a constant correspondence with that better country."

"Many make religion unpleasant to themselves, and discouraging to others, by their imprudent management of it . . . *overdriving the flocks one day.* . . ."

"Solomon (a very competent judge of Beauty). . . ."

"Meekness hides the lancet, gilds the pill, and makes it passable, dips the nail in oil, and then it drives the better."

"This love of the pleasure of drinking is commonly jested with as 'A Spark in the Throat. . . .' But I will take it for granted that you are sometimes sober."

"Those we do injury to we put the greatest contempt upon, as not worthy to have right done them."

"Right notions will not serve without good morals."

"Modesty is the hedge of chastity."

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[1] *A History of the New Meeting House, Kidderminster* (E. D. Priestley Evans).

[2] "*A Method for Prayer, with Scripture Expressions proper to be used under each Head,* CHESTER, MARCH 25, 1710, MATT. HENRY," in which there are some 5,000 Scriptural references, shows the commentator's knowledge of his Bible. It is a prodigious effort of memory, and skilful manipulation.

"Shall your Bibles be thrown by as an almanack out of date?"

"A golden thread of heart prayer must run through the web of the whole Christian Life."

"Let all our strife be who *shall be* best—this is a gracious strife; not disputing who *has been* best—that is a vainglorious strife."

"We have no reason to complain of a hard bargain; we are not tied to a rack-rent, it is only a chief."

"You have a Gospel to preach, not a Gospel to make." (At Mr. *Samuel Clark's* ordination.)

"He was a good husband of precious time: and that is a piece of good husbandry, which, I am sure, is good divinity."

"His aim was to make them men of sense and Catholic Christians."

The sermon on *Schism*[1] is excellent Christian talk:—

"Schism is so deformed a brat, that nobody has been willing to own it; a crime so very black, that each party

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[1] *A Brief Inquiry into the true Nature of Schism, or a Persuasive to Christian Love and Charity, humbly submitted to better judgments,* 1690. Matthew's first appearance as author.

"T. W.," a "Citizen of Chester" and a "sincere lover of Truth," attacked it. Mr. Henry, who neither liked "law wars, nor sword wars, nor book wars," said nothing. But Mr. Tong took up the cudgels, and his performance called forth from the Rev. W. Turner, then Vicar of Walburton, in Sussex, and formerly P. H.'s student, and M. H.'s tutor, the words—"Your son's vindicator is a man of brisk brain, and a sharp-nibbed pen."

Matthew's sister Sarah was not so reticent under attack. It is with a feeling of the deepest regret that her refreshing letter to an illiberal and intolerant clergyman can only be given in clippings:—

"Dear Sir,—I have long desired an opportunity of conversing with you. . . . Therefore, you will pardon my boldness in thus expressing my thoughts. Women's tongues and pens sometimes claim a freedom, which men, who are more wise and reserved, had been studiously industrious to clear itself from the charge. . . .

"Witness that notion which excludes out of the Church, and consequently out of heaven, all those (however orthodox and serious soever they are otherwise) who are not in prelatical communion; if no diocesan bishops, then no ministers, no sacraments, no church, no salvation; which is certainly the most schismatical notion that ever was broached on the Christian world. . . .

will not use. It is (or may be thought) our unhappiness to differ from the Established Church in some lesser things, but while we agree in fundamentals, why should there be, among us, strife and envying? The high charge we had yesterday from you, of *devilish pride, annoyance, &c.*, I cannot account light, especially from one who should stand in the place of God, to guide and direct us in the way to heaven. I think it invidious to judge men's hearts, which none but God can do. It cannot be in itself sinful to dissent from the Church, else why did we cast off the yoke of Rome? . . .

"The name of schism (that ecclesiastical scarecrow) is industriously, tho' falsely, thrown upon us, as I have seen proved. But if it were true—who is in the fault? The imposers of things *themselves own to be unnecessary*—or us, who dare not comply with them—yet desirous to sacrifice anything to peace, but truth? I must say, as any unprejudiced person will, that if the Nonconformists are mistaken, they are the most unhappy to exclude themselves from all that is desirable in the world, and expose themselves to poverty, scorn, and hatred. I must do them that justice to tell you, I never remember to have heard one public reflection from any of them upon the Established Church. . . .

"Said my honoured Father, when dying—'Follow peace, and holiness, and let them say what they will.' This has been my sincere desire and endeavour. And I solemnly profess, I have not at all endeavoured to draw my children into the same way, otherwise than what my example might do, though some of them have taken pains to study those points, *and are not presbyterians by chance, but of choice;* for I desire they may not pin their faith to my sleeve, but choose for themselves, and, if they take this

"Reproaching, reviling, and railing at those who differ from us in little things, is another schismatical practice: fastening such nick-names upon them, and loading them with such reproaches, as carry in them all the odium that malice can infuse into them; dressing them up in bears' skins, and then baiting them, doing what we can by calumnies and misrepresentations to alienate the affections of others from them. . . .

"In every nation he that fears God, and works righteousness, is accepted of Him; and why should he not be accepted of me? . . .

"We have been long enough trying to root schism out of the Church *vi et armis*—by impositions, fines, and penalties, choaking our brethren, because their throats have not been so wide as ours."

From *The Lay-man's Reasons for his joining in stated Communion with a Congregation of Moderate Dissenters*, we take :—

"I am very well satisfied, that when my Redeemer, in kindness to his Church, broke the yoke of that ceremonial law which was given by Moses, he did not leave it in the power of any man, or company of men in the world, to make another like yoke, and lay that upon the necks of the disciples.

"I have seen, with much satisfaction, many of the Church of England zealous against vice and profaneness, and active for the suppressing of it, and have a mighty value and

despised way, it *is not because they know no other, but because they know no better.*

"I have heard divers complain that you speak so low they can scarce hear you, but I observed yesterday you could raise your voice. . . . I know not what the Church would have—they have all the profits, preferments, and advantages they can desire, yet because our Governors take off the power to persecute, it avails nothing. . . .

"Monday, January 14, 1716–17."

veneration for them upon that account, and wish their constitution would allow them to do more, by church-censures, in prosecution of that worthy design than I apprehend it will. But for that pious zeal of theirs, I have so often heard them called *presbyterians*,[1] by those who are bigots for episcopacy and the ceremonies, that I confess it has made me love the presbyterians the better, since zeal against profaneness enters so much into their character, even their enemies themselves being the judges.

"By occasional communion with the Church of England, whereby I design to testify my charity and catholic communion, and my approbation of that in it which is good, I do not in the least condemn my stated communion with the Dissenters."

[1] Once coming into a publichouse, and hearing a gentleman most profanely swearing, he desired him to forbear; said he, "Thou art some Presbyterian, I warrant thee." Said the Lieutenant, "Pray, sir, what church are you of?" "Of the Church of England," said he. Then said the Lieutenant, "I am sorry you are of the same church that I am of, for you are a disgrace to it. . . ."

"I once reproved a minister for setting in idle company, and hearing a deal of obscene and wicked talk. He answered, 'I am not to reprove such things out of the pulpit.'"

"And some of our high clergymen will preach against profaneness in the pulpit, but allow it, and laugh at it in the ale-house; and will rather reproach and persecute an honest dissenter, for truly serving God, than make complaint of, or endeavour to punish a profane swearer, a drunkard, or a debauched wretch that blasphemes the great God. . . ."

Let none blame him for his zeal in this matter, since he himself knew, by sad experience, what influences the ill examples of the clergy have upon others: for he remembered with grief, that above twenty years ago, when he himself lived a careless life, he sat up one Sabbath night, drinking till the next morning, and two clergymen were in company with him all the time; one that had preached that day, and the other, the minister of the parish; towards morning, when they had drunk the house dry, one of the ministers gave money, to knock up another house to get more

We find Matthew Henry's words (1713) concerning Mr. Burgess, minister of the "Meeting house in Bridges St., Covent Garden" (afterwards destroyed by the populace) true of himself, the author of *Christianity no Sect*: "His moderation was known unto all men, and he often said he cared not for being distinguished by any denomination, but that of a *Christian* of *Antioch*."

In a difficult time, Mr. Henry was consistent. A quarter of a century before, he had written a paper bearing the title of *Serious Self-Examination before Ordination*:—

"3. I can appeal to God, that I have no Design in the least to maintain a Party, or to Keep up any Schismatical Faction; my Heart rises against the Thoughts of it; I hate dividing Principles and Practices, and whatever others are, I am for Peace and Healing, and if my Blood would be sufficient Balsam, I would gladly part with the last Drop of

drink. When he came home, his wife asked him how he could answer his mis-spending the evening of the Lord's Day so; he replied, he had been with two ministers, and he did but as they did.

"Our high churchmen," says he, "will scarce admit of one serious Christian among us; for if a man begin to have that character, he is branded with title of a presbyterian."

Certainly they cannot do the presbyterians a greater kindness, nor the Church of England a greater diskindness than using such language.

It is a great surprise and grief to all good men to find those societies (for the Reformation of Manners, 'encouraged by the Archbishop of Canterbury's circular letter to the Bishops of his province, dated April 4, 1699 . . .') represented quite otherwise by Dr. Sacheverell, in his Assize Sermon at Derby, Aug. 15, 1709, where he says, ". . . And these troublesome wasps erect themselves into illegal inquisitions" (though the object 'was to promote the design of her Majesty's pious proclamation'). ". . . No wonder, then, that St. Paul has so severely stigmatised these busybodies in other men's matters, by ranking them with *murderers* and *thieves*, as the most proper persons to keep one another company."—M. H., *Life of Lieut. Illidge.*

it, for the closing up of the bleeding Wounds of Differences that are amongst true Christians; Peace is such a precious Jewel, that I would give anything for it but Truth. Those who are hot and bitter in their Contendings for or against little Things, and zealous in Keeping up Names of Divisions and maintaining Parties, are of a Spirit which I understand not; let not my Soul come into their Secret.

"My Ends, then, are according to my Principles, and I humbly appeal to God concerning the Integrity of my Heart in them."

2.—**JOHN GARDNER,**[1] *Oct.*, 1713—2 *Nov.*, 1765.

Min. Swanland, 1711-13; *d.* 2 Nov., 1765. *Issue:* see pp. 168, 169 n.

PETER WITHINGTON[1] (*Colleague*), *Oct.*, 1713-1720.

B. [1688]; *ord.* 3 Aug., 1714; *min.* Chester; Bolton 1720—June, 1722; *d.* June, 1722, age 34; *bur.* Scarborough.

ROBERT MURREY (*? Colleague*), 1720.

Ed. Rathmell, by Richard Frankland, M.A., 27 May, 1695; *ord.* 2 Aug., 1705; *min.* Burton-on-Trent; Chester. See also p. 89.

[A native of Chester: retired thither after being minister at B.-on.-T.; published *Closet Devotions*, 1713, 12°., with preface by M. H.; *Christ every Christian's Pattern*, 1715, 12°.; edited posthumous and very liberal work by J. Platts, 1737, 8°.; possibly his religious liberalism had by that time led him to retire from the ministry.—A. G.] See *Index*.

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[1] There was great trouble in obtaining a satisfactory successor to Matthew Henry.

"These Disappointments gave Mr. *Henry* a great deal of Trouble, and cost him many Tears and Prayers; at length God provided wonderfully well for them; Mr. *Gardner* and Mr. *Withington* are Labouring among them in the Word and Doctrine with universal Acceptance. . . ."—TONG, p. 362.

BENJAMIN STREET (*Colleague*), 1740–1751.

B. [1717] at Wilmslow ; *ed.* Kendal Academy, 1735 ; *min.* Chester ; Macclesfield, 1751—5 Mar., 1764, age 47.

3.—**JOHN CHIDLAW** (*Colleague*, 1751–1765), 1765–1798.

B. 1727 ; *ed.* David Jennings' Acad., 1745 ; *min.* Chester ; *d.* 15 Nov., 1800, unmarried ; *bur.* in Chapel yard.

First entry in Register 24 May, 1764 ; last 23 October, 1796.

But in the Minute Book *John Chidlaw* stands out boldly and firmly, at a meeting, 2 Jan., 1797.

"Mr. Chidlaw is still well remembered in the City, and his memory is cherished with great respect by the congregation with which he was connected, especially by the aged members of it who were his friends and associates in early life."—*J. Lyons*, writing in Cuitt's *Chester*.

In an article by R. B. Aspland, *Christian Reformer*, 1845, p. 259, there is the personal testimony of the surviving member to "the liberal character of Mr. Chidlaw's theological views."

We have only one Sermon[1] of Mr. Chidlaw's, "preached at Chester *November* the 8th, 1772," after a terrible explosion of gunpowder.[2]

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[1] Kindly sent by the Rev. Rudolf Davis, of Evesham, to whom we also owe Mr. Maurice's sermon.

[2] "On the 5th of November, 1772, about nine o'Clock at night, the inhabitants of this city were alarmed by a sudden shock, resembling very nearly that of an Earthquake. It was soon known to be occasioned by the blowing up of a large building in the *Water-gate-Street,* in which was assembled a great crowd of people to attend a puppet-shew. Unhappily, under the shew-room was

" 2. We should improve the solemn and affecting scene by cultivating, in our breasts, the most tender sentiments of humanity and compassion for the poor unhappy sufferers. A disposition to censure and condemn our neighbours is in general unchristian and wrong, but it is in a peculiar manner inhuman and cruel, when they lie under the pressure of some great calamity. To look upon them then with horror as victims devoted to the divine vengeance, is the way to abate that compassion which we ought always to feel for the distressed. . . . I wish to guard both myself and you against a censorious construction of those afflictive events that befall others, to which some people are too much addicted by the influence of ill-nature, or a party spirit. Some persons of narrow minds and sour tempers are fond of turning every misfortune into a judgment. . . ."

The conception of Providence was clearly changed from Mr. Henry's time, and differed from the cotemporary view

a grocer's warehouse, in which was lodged a large quantity of gunpowder. . . . The whole building, (the timber and walls of which were remarkably strong) was in a moment levelled with the ground, and some of the adjoining houses greatly shattered and damaged. . . . The consternation and distress of the relations of the unfortunate sufferers, completed this scene of horror. Those of us who were witnesses of it can never forget the wild amazement and despair of those who hurried to seek their husbands, wives, or children that were involved in this calamity. . . . Oh ! it was a night of horror.

" It appears by authentic accounts that twenty-three were killed upon the spot, fifty-three are in the Infirmary with burns, bruises, &c., and about thirty more are in private houses, in all one hundred and six.

"· · · The public thanks are justly due to many reputable tradesmen and others who nobly hazarded their own lives to rescue the unhappy sufferers. (A report universally prevailed at that time that there were many barrels of gunpowder amidst the ruins that had not taken fire.) Too much cannot be said in honour of the Gentlemen of the Faculty. . . ."—From *The Preface.*

of some of Mr. Armitage's people (*Urwick*, p. 42): "If the Lord had intended to kill us, he would have permitted us to go to the puppet show. . . ."

4.—**WILLIAM THOMAS**, 1798–1808.

B. 1773; *ed.* Northampton Acad., under Horsey; *min.* assistant to John Chidlaw before 1798; Chester. Retired, owing to ill-health, 1808; *m.* youngest dau. (*d.* 17 Aug., 1839) of Samuel Small, of Holywell; *d.* 21 Mar., 1809. "A man of great integrity and benevolence; his simple, mild, and unassuming manners attracted the sincere esteem of all who were acquainted with his character."—*J. Lyons* in Cuitt's *Chester.* [We find mention of "*Unitarian* Chapel Library."]

5.—**JAMES LYONS**, *Nov.*, 1808—*Dec.*, 1813.

B. [1768] in Ireland; *ord.* 1787, age 19; *min.* Ireland; Wales; Devonport (*Wesleyan*); London; Walworth; "set apart to pastoral office" in Baptist Church (Particular), George Street, Hull, Wednesday, 7 Mar., 1798–1807; missionary to Scotland for Unitarian Fund, 1808; Chester, (*second time*) 1810; to Wales, 1811. Supplied Parliament Court; Newport, I. of W.; Reading, &c. *m.* (1) (1798) youngest dau. (*d.* 11 Nov., 1809) of Rev. John Beatson, of Hull. *Issue*, 3 children; (2) a Chester lady *née* Evans (*d.* 1861, age 90); *d.* 13 Sept., 1824.

The *Christian Reformer*, 1824, p. 400, gives in full a letter from Mr. Lyons to the Rev. R. Wright, Wisbeach, most of which will be found below.[1]

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[1] HULL, *Dec.* 9, 1807.

DEAR SIR,—As I am considerably indebted to you, under the divine blessing, for deliverance from errors, which I now conceive to be equally consistent with the honour of God and the improvement and happiness of his rational creatures, I cannot suppress the inclination I feel to return you my warmest thanks, and to tell you I am firmly persuaded I shall have great cause to

The *Monthly Repository*, 1808, p. 272, reviews Mr. Lyons' farewell sermon at Hull: *The Right and Duty of a Faithful and Fearless Examination of the Scriptures: asserted in a Sermon, preached at the Calvinist Baptist Chapel, Hull; on the Resignation of the Pastoral Office in that place, occasioned by the Author's embracing the Unitarian Doctrine.* "Seldom

rejoice at every future period of my existence, as I do now, on account of the generous and manly exertions which you have made in the cause of truth. When your writings were first circulated in this neighbourhood, I thought it my duty to do everything in my power to counteract their influence, and I flattered myself that I was able to vindicate the creed of my early years against every objection which you might bring against it. Under this persuasion, I purchased some of your publications, and borrowed others; but I soon found that I was altogether unequal to the task I had imposed upon myself. I then wrote to Mr. A. Fuller, stating that I thought your mode of reasoning was well calculated to make converts to Unitarianism, and that I thought the orthodoxy of the younger people in our congregation, was in great danger. At that time I had no doubt but Mr. Fuller was able to refute your arguments, though they were too powerful for me, and I expected he would have written something on the great points of the controversy, in a nervous and concise way, which would build us all up in orthodoxy. Instead of this, however, he sent me a few pamphlets which I had seen before, and requested me to lend them to any persons who might be likely to be unsettled in their principles. These I read over with particular attention; but as my difficulties remained, I resolved to sit down to the inquiry in good earnest, and began to read with more care than I had ever done before, the New Testament; calling to my aid the best assistance I could obtain from human compositions, on both sides of every question in dispute between Unitarians and Trinitarians. The result is, that I am fully convinced there are no such doctrines in the sacred Scriptures as that of the Trinity, the equality of Jesus Christ with his Father, or of a vicarious sacrifice by his death for the sins of men. You can easily conceive what the exercises of my mind have been, previous to my coming to this conclusion. The sacrifices of prejudices which had been entwined round my heart from the earliest moments of have we perused so interesting a sermon as this by Mr. Lyons. It is equally distinguished by manliness, simplicity, modesty, and piety. It first establishes the great PROTESTANT principle of the right of private judgment, and then grafts upon this principle the UNITARIAN doctrine. This is the just order of things : let men inquire, wherever inquiry may end ; let them prove all things, and the chance is that they will hold fast that which is good. . . . Mr. Lyons has nobly dared to think for himself in matters of religion ;—nay more, he has had the courage to tell the

recollection, and which were associated with all my religious hopes, feelings, and exercises, could not be made but with much painful exertion. The prospect of grieving near and dear connexions, and of being separated from friends whom I greatly esteemed, was exceedingly distressing ; nor was I without feeling, respecting the unjust reproach which I well knew to be the certain consequence of a public avowal of sentiments in opposition to the popular creed ; but, thank God, the struggle is over. The testimony of a good conscience required what I have done, and this I trust will support me. . . . I find the other congregations in the town are much more enraged than the people I have left. All the orthodox prejudices of the multitude are called into action on this occasion, and will no doubt operate with great violence for some time ; but, I have, in this respect, counted the cost. I am informed you are to be in Hull soon ; I need not say that I shall be happy to see you.

Sincerely praying that you may be increasingly happy and useful,

I remain, dear sir, yours affectionately,

J. LYONS.

Rev. R. Wright, Wisbeach.

[Mr. A. Fuller was the Rev. Andrew Fuller, presumably a Baptist, with whom Mr. Severn, of Wesley-Kidderminster-Hull fame, had a controversy ; see *M. R.*, 1808, p. 262. He is mentioned in the book-review next above that of Mr. Lyons' sermon. We should have expected to hear of some connection between the Unitarian Severn (see *The New Meeting, Kidderminster*) and the inquiring Lyons.]

people whom he has instructed for years, 'I have taught you errors.' . . . We are happy, that having been first a *confessor*, he has since become a *missionary;* and that he is, within a few days (June 8, Wednesday in Whitsun-week,) to preach, in this metropolis, the annual sermon in behalf of the *Unitarian* Fund."

The sermon was preached: and since the Society as such could not publish it, individuals subscribed twenty guineas for that purpose.

M. R., 1813, p. 56, contains a note on Chester in *Mr. Wright's Tour in the North-West.* "Here I preached twice, and had the pleasure of enjoying the edifying society of my esteemed friend and brother missionary, Mr. Lyons, and several of his people."

Mr. Lyons resigned, Dec. 22, 1813, because "for some time past I have felt myself unable to discharge to my own satisfaction the important duties of my profession."

Mr. Lyons lived at Eccleston, and he was present at a vestry meeting held Jan. 17, 1822. His wife, it will be noted, signed the invitation to Mr. Macdonald.

JAMES PARRY (*Supply*) 1814–1815.

B. 1776, in S. Wales; *ed.* Presbyterian Coll., Caermarthen; Exeter, by Rev. Timothy Kenrick. *Never entered ministry.* Kept schools at Wrexham, 1800–; Chester; Liverpool (?). *M.* Martha (*b.* 1762, *d.* Aug., 1853), youngest sister of Timothy Kenrick; *d.* 21 April, 1848, at Chester; *bur.* Wrexham.

6.—WILLIAM JOHNSTON BAKEWELL, *Aug.*, 1815—*April*, 1826.

B. [1794] at Wakefield; *ed.* M. C. York, Sept., 1810–1815; *min.*[1] Chester; Edinburgh, 1826–1828; Norwich,

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[1] Requisition, signed by: Messrs. Aldersey, J. Moulson, Cropper, W. Boult, Murray, Sharp, Nicholls, J. Evans, Humphreyes, Taylor, T. Swanwick, J. Swanwick, Hassall; Mesdames Moulson, Swanwick, Grindrod, J. Swanwick, T. Moulson, Hancox, Hincks.

1828–1839; Pittsburg, U.S.A., 1840. Conformed, 1843, to Episcopalian Church; afterwards became a Roman Catholic. *M.* Sarah, dau. of — Needham, of Chester. *Issue*, Sarah (*b.* 2 Nov., 1821), William (*b.* 12 Feb., 1823), Infant (*b.* and *d.* 27 Feb., 1824), Robert (4 Nov., 1826), Frederic (4 April, 1828), Fanny (28 Nov., 1829), Frank (15 Aug., 1831); *d.* 2 Aug., 1861, age 67.

". . . In Chester I cannot obtain any adequate remuneration for my exertions as a teacher of youth, an occupation always laborious and harassing, and, when unattended by any suitable compensation, extremely irksome and depressing. Actuated by the conviction that at Edinburgh I shall have a larger field for exertion as a minister, and that as an instructor of youth I shall be much more usefully, as well as agreeably and profitably employed, I have been induced to accept the invitation to become the minister of the Unitarian congregation of that place. . . ."—From *Letter of Resignation*, Jan. 21, 1826.

". . . In a sect like ours, few in numbers and widely differing in many of our tenets from those generally entertained, we are sensible of the credit and respectability reflected upon a congregation by the virtues of its minister, and you must therefore allow us to express our conviction that whoever may be your successor, our standing in this respect cannot be improved. . . .

"Signed on behalf of the Congregation. . . ."

7.—**ROBERT BROOK ASPLAND**, *Aug.*, 1826—*Oct.* 12, 1832.

B. 19 Jan., 1805, at Newport, I. of W.; *ed.* Glasgow, 1819–1822; M.C., York, 1822–1826, M.A., Glas., 1822; *min.*[1] Chester; Bristol, Lewin's Mead, 1833–1837; Dukinfield, 1 Jan., 1837—June, 1858; London, Hackney, 1858—21 June, 1869. *M.* (21 Oct., 1833) Jane Hibbert. *Issue,* Arthur Palmer (*d.* 1900); Lindsey Middleton, Q.C., LL.D. (*d.* 6 May, 1891, age 48); *d.* 21 June, 1869.

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[1] ". . . Dissenters ourselves, we seek in our minister a consistent Dissenter,—a lover of truth above all things, combined with that charity which freely, habitually, and practically,

". . . I cannot anticipate a separation from so united and affectionate a flock, whose long continued kindness I must ever hold in grateful remembrance, without sorrow." —From *Letter of Resignation,* dated Gatley Hill, 12 Oct., 1832.

". . . You will leave behind you, Sir, a Congregation of affectionate friends, and cordial well-wishers,—who will rejoice to hear of your increased utility and increasing welfare. . . .—*Signed on behalf of the Congregation. . . .*"

Mr. Aspland went to Lewin's Mead "to undertake the Pastoral office amongst them in conjunction with my revered Friend Dr. Carpenter."

8.—MORTIMER MAURICE, *Jan.,* 1833—*Mar.* 10, 1850.

B. 1808; *ed.* M.C., York, 1827–1832; Chester.[1] Retired, partly owing to loss of voice. *M.* Mary Anne Marsden, of

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awards to others the right which we claim for ourselves, of private judgment. . . ."—*Letter of Invitation,* signed by:—

John Nicholls.
Thoˢ· Moulson.
Jnᵒ· Johnson.
Shaw Evans.
John Lowe.
A. Boult.
Eliza Sharpe.
Thoˢ· Bellis.
M. Moulson.
Robert Aldersey.
Thoˢ· Cropper.
Wᵐ· Murray.
P. Long.
Eliza Hancox.
H. Boult.
C. Lyons.
Martha Sneade.
Thoˢ· Sudworth.
Joˢ· Swanwick.
Aylmer Frost.
John Foulkes.
M. Cochran.
M. and M. Wicksteed.
Wᵐ· Ankers.
George Nesse Hill.

[1] Revᴰ· Sir,—We address you as members of the Unitarian Society for whom you have conducted Divine Service the last two Sabbath days. . . .

In inviting you to become our Minister we look to you to aid

Bolton. *Issue*, Emily (*b.* 14 Aug., 1836), Susanna, Mary Anne, Theodosia Ellen, Edith, Arthur Hill ("baptised by their cousin, the Rev. Samuel Bache, of Birmingham,

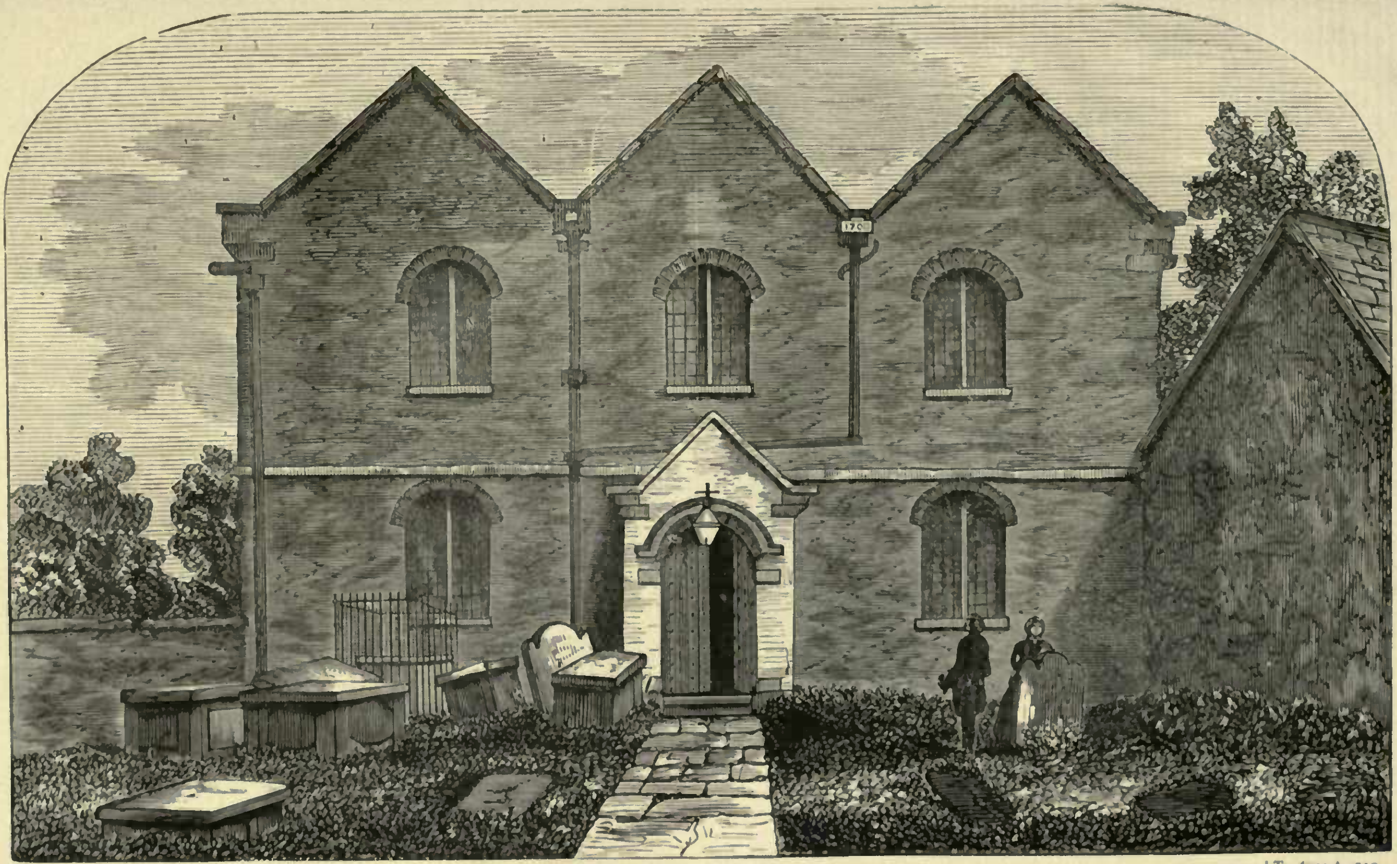
us in the formation of the Christian character, both by your precepts and your example, to illustrate the benign and beautiful spirit of the religion of Jesus both in your discourses and conversation, and to exercise yourself and to vindicate for us that intellectual freedom which as Protestant Dissenters we regard as inalienable rights. . . .

Signed by :—

Robt. Aldersey.
Martha Cochran.
Martha Moulson.
Jno. Nicholls.
Esther Brassey.
F. A. Frost.
Eliza Hancox.
Thos. Cropper.
Jno. Johnson.
Jno. Foulkes.
J. M. Hassall.
Elizh. Sharp.
Elizh. Long.
Stepn. Humble.
Mary Humble.
W. H. Boult.
Mary Green.
Mary Wicksteed.
Mary Hughes.
Fran. Nicholls.
Ann Boult.
Martha Sneede.
J. W. Anderson.
Josh. Poole.
Elizh. Lea.
M. Lea.
Thos. Bellis.
Shaw Evans.
Esther Evans.
Jas. Harrison.
Jno. Harrop.
F. Harrop.
Wm. Harrop.
Cathn. Lyons.
Jno. Millington.
Wm. Jones.
Jno. Jones.
Robt. J. Parry.
Josh. Wilkinson.
Jas. Star.
W. Bithell.
Jno. Holloway.
Wm. Ball.
Saml. Meredith.
Thos. Morland.
Jonn. Boulton.
Jno. Lewis.
Josh. Haynes.
Saml. Roberts.
Wm. Walley.
Robt. Roberts.
Maria Shepard.
Jno. Horme (? Orme).
Jas. Holloway.
Mary Lewis.
Sarh. Holloway.
Thos. Johnson.
Edwd. Johnson.
Thos. Moulson.

The first marriage that took place in the Chapel was one of orthodox Presbyterians, April 29, 1844, at whose disposal the Chapel was placed for the occasion.

In 1847 September 9th is the second entry, notable in that the bride is still living, alert in mind and cheery in disposition as ever : "James Darbishire, Esq., to Miss Jane Johnson, daughter of John and Elizabeth Johnson, of Field House, near Chester. Officiating Minister, the Rev. John Gooch Robberds, of Manchester."



[To face p. 210.

Dec., 1846"). Susanna (*m.* Dr. T. Eyton Jones), *d.* 1870; Mary Anne (*m.* N. R. Griffith), *d.* 1891; Theodosia Ellen (*m.* Gerald W. Rawlins); Edith Mortimer (*m.* Chas. MacGregor); Mortimer Bache (*b.* 4 March, 1848), *d.* 1891; Albert (*b.* 19 Aug., 1849); *d.* 1865, *bur.* in Chester cemetery.

". . . For some years after my acceptance of the office of your Minister, it was not considered prudent to engage in popular plans for the dissemination of our doctrinal opinions. Quietness in this respect was enjoined in consequence of the insecure tenure by which we held our religious property. . . ."—From *Letter of Resignation*, Feb., 1850.

"We are informed that the friends of the Rev. Mortimer Maurice have recently presented him with a purse of £48 6s., together with an affectionate address on occasion of his relinquishment of his pastoral office at Crook Street Chapel, Chester. This mark of esteem was in addition to the presentation to Mr. Maurice of the amount of one year's salary, by the trustees, on behalf of the congregation."—*Christian Reformer*, May, 1850.

9.—JAMES MALCOLM, *Jan.*, 1851—26 *Dec.*, 1855.

B. 1811, at Newry (son of Rev. Dr. Malcolm, Dunmurry-Newry); *ed.* Belfast; *ord.* 9 Sept., 1835; *min.* Liverpool Ancient Chapel (*supply*); Carrickfergus, 1835–1838; Taunton, (*supply*); Billingshurst, 1838–1839; Boston, Lincs., 1839—31 Dec., 1850; Chester.[1] *M.* Anne Bowman. *Issue*,

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[1] REVEREND SIR,—We address you as the members of the Unitarian Congregation assembling in Crook St. Chapel . . . In looking forward to your settlement among us, we feel assured that those religious principles we entertain will find in you a zealous and enlightened advocate. We are satisfied that the exertions which have been put forth for the benefit of your present Congregation, which have been blessed with success in no ordinary degree, and which have endeared you to each one of them, will

Eleanor Davys, Florence (*b.* in Boston); James Chester (*d.* 1866), Bowman, C.E.; *d.* 26 Dec., 1855.

"The last time Mr. Malcolm appeared in his pulpit was on Sunday evening, the 16th December, when he gave the concluding lecture of a course, in which he had been assisted by several of his brother ministers from neighbouring towns. He appears to have been much gratified with the effect of these lectures."—F. B. in *C. R.* 1856, p. 124.

The Cheshire ministers sent a letter of condolence to Mrs. Malcolm, "impressed with sentiments of sincere respect for his memory, and of the deepest sympathy with yourself on occasion of his sudden and unexpected removal by death"—signed by Charles Wallace, M.A., Altrincham and Hale; Henry Green, M.A., Knutsford; John Colson, Styal and Dean Row; R. Brook Aspland, M.A., Dukin-

be continued for our improvement, and for the advancement of the cause of religion and truth.

(Signed)

F. A. Frost.
Ann Frost.
T. G. Frost, Junr.
F. A. Frost, Junr.
Robert Frost.
Elizabeth Johnson.
Mary Johnson.
Bryan Johnson.
Edward Johnson.
Phœbe Johnson.
John Maddock.
Ann Maddock.
Mary Maddock.
Thomas Moreland.
Sarah Moreland.
William Orrett.
Ann Orrett.
John Griffith.
Mary Griffith.
Peter England.
Deborah England.
John Horton.
William Horton.
Charles Powell.
F. Harrop.
Elizabeth Griffith.
Thomas Orme.
Mary Thomas.
Mrs. Parry.
Sarah Kenrick.
Mrs. Lyons.
Eliza Foulkes.
Henry Foulkes.
Mrs. Brassey.
John Evans Brassey.
Esther Brassey.
Meadows Frost,
Matilda Frost.
Jane Frost.
Jane Frost.
Kate Evans.
Robert Jones.
Miss Sheppherd.
Joseph Haynes.
Miss Prince.
Robert Taylor Parry.
Charlotte Parry.
Elizabeth Parry.
James Davies.
Edward Tasker.
H. Wilbraham.
E. Wilbraham.
James Holloway.
Sarah Wood.
James Wilbraham,

field; JAMES BAYLEY, Stockport; CHARLES BEARD, B.A., Hyde; THOMAS BOWRING, Nantwich; JOS. C. MEEKE, Macclesfield; RUSSELL LANT CARPENTER, B.A., late of Birkenhead.

At a meeting held May 5, 1856, in the vestry, it was resolved: "That this Meeting record the deep regret and sorrow that is felt by the Congregation in the loss they have sustained in the death of their excellent Minister and friend, the Revd. James Malcolm, which occurred on the twenty-sixth of last December, and to express their deep sympathy with Mrs. Malcolm and her family on their bereavement.

"That the best thanks of the Congregation be offered to Mr. Whiteside and the Ministers in Lancashire and Cheshire who have so kindly come forward, gratuitously, to supply the vacant pulpit during the six months following the death of Mr. Malcolm, and that a copy of this resolution be sent to Mr. Whiteside.

"That the grateful thanks of the Congregation be offered to the Revd. F. Bishop for his kind attention at the funeral of the late Mr. Malcolm, and for his excellent and feeling sermon on the Sunday afterwards, and also for his valuable assistance in editing a Volume of Sermons by our late Pastor."—F. A. Frost; John E. Brassey; Edward Tasker; Edwd. Johnson; Bryan Johnson; Tho. G. Frost, Jr.; Robert Frost; Meadows Frost.

10.—SIMON FREDERICK MACDONALD, 15 *Aug.*, 1856—29 *Sept.*, 1859.

B. 1822, at Aberdeen; *ed.* Aberdeen, Bonn.; *min.* Dorchester; Shepton Mallet, 1847–1849; Diss., 1849–1856; Chester[1]; Rochdale, Jan., 1860—9 Jan., 1862; *m.* (5 Nov.,

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[1] . . . We look to your Ministry to advocate those principles of free and enlightened Dissent, which recognise the right of private judgment, and the cultivation of all moral and social virtues, and of that pure and simple Christianity, which we believe to be

1846) Fanny Elizabeth Stallybrass, of London. *Issue*, 7 children ; *d.* 9 Jan., 1862.

Mr. Macdonald's name is associated with two controversies : one denominational, the other local ; but each of interest and importance. "The Unitarian Position" question is now more generally described as that of "The Unitarian Name." It seems still to be, despite Mr. Macdonald's mediating purpose, a "*vexed* question." A few sentences of Dr. (Mr.) Martineau's letter to the Chester minister will suffice as introduction :—

DEAR SIR,—I have received and read with much interest the tract on the "Unitarian Position," which you have been kind enough to send me. With many of its statements of principle I find myself in hearty accord ; and even where I cannot entirely concur in your conclusions,

taught in the Gospel of Jesus Christ, principles which form, in our opinion, the great charm of the Unitarian Faith. . . .

Elizabeth Johnson.
Cath. Lyons.
F. A. Frost.
Ann Frost.
Edward Johnson.
Phœbe Johnson.
Eliza Foulkes.
Thos. G. Frost.
Mary Ann Frost.
Bryan Johnson.
Thomas Boulton.
Thomas Moreland.
Thomas Poole.
William Walley.
William Briggs.
John Peters.
Edward Humble.
Joseph Pulford.
Geo. Sandars.
Sarah McCoy.
Geo. Kenrick.
Mary Weaver.
Mary Ann Humble.
Harriet Humble.
Henry Wilbraham.
Thomas Johnson.
Mary Ann Shepherd.
John Harrop.
John Boulton.
Mary Beale.
Thos. Hodges.
Robert Frost.
Jane Frost.
Eliza Greene.
Eliza K. Greene.
Harriett Greene.
Margaret Holoway.
John Holly.
Daniel Scott.
Edward Tasker.
Elizabeth Tasker.
William Orrett.
Amelia Croft.
Joseph Croft.
Mary Ann Orme.
Harriet Walley.
Elizabeth Parry.
Charlotte Parry.
Robert Taylor Parry.
John Holloway.
William Horton.
Geo. Kendrick, Junr.
John Humphreys.
Mary Boulton.

[Spelling was of no account in the days of ——].

you so far carry my sympathy with you by the spirit and aim with which they are recommended, that I feel impelled to explain to you—as in self-defence—the grounds of my partial dissent.

And first, let me disclaim in the most emphatic manner the sentiment, which, quite erroneously as I believe, you impute to some among us,—of objection to well-defined and distinctly-taught opinions in matters of theology . . . The real question is this,—whether Theological combinations and Church combinations should be identical or distinct. . . .

Not being anxious to found a sect, but only, till better days, to keep open and unexclusive some little corner of the Church meant to be Universal, I am quite content with a stock of provisional and accidental names. The mere fact that we inherit no other, expresses the very genius of the large-hearted and self-renouncing Christianity from which we spring. . . .

I must entreat your forgiveness, my dear sir, for this long infliction, far longer than I at all intended when I began. . . .

Your pamphlet revived the train of thought, and made me long once more for some better life than our churches seem likely to attain. So I have visited my vain aspirations upon you.

I remain, my dear sir, very truly yours,
James Martineau.

Castletown of Braemar,
Aberdeenshire,
August 6th, 1859.

The Editor of *The Christian Reformer*, the Rev. R. B. Aspland (Chester, 1826–1832), published the letter in full in the following October. The pith of the matter at issue is seen in his words: "The main question to which Mr. Martineau addresses himself is, whether Theological and Church combinations ought to be identical or distinct.

He declares that they should be distinct, and therefore he opposes and would abandon the use of the term 'Unitarian' in connection with our churches."

Mr. Macdonald's letter appears in December :—

MR. MACDONALD ON "THE UNITARIAN POSITION" CONTROVERSY.

SIR,—The discussion of the "Unitarian Position," inaugurated, I believe, by myself, has assumed more gigantic proportions than I had reckoned on, and drawn forth a host of critics of almost every variety of tone and sentiment. The publication of Mr. Martineau's first letter, although approved by some, has been condemned by others, being calculated, it is thought, to sow dissension in our body, and afford a handle to the enemies of the faith. As it was at my suggestion that this letter was laid before the public, I feel that I am really responsible for that act with all its consequences, whatever they may be. But I must say that I cannot join in the feelings or fears of those who think it an unwise step to publish the deliberately-formed opinion of one of our most learned and accomplished men on a question vitally affecting the interests of our Church.

By far the most elaborate and satisfactory criticism which Mr. Martineau's views have received, is to be found in the "Strictures" of the Editor of *The Christian Reformer*, who may be considered best, perhaps, to represent the older school of thought amongst us. Yet I venture to affirm that there is no irreconcilable difference between Mr. Martineau's position and your own ; and it seems to me that the strength of our Church really lies in this blending of the newer with the older modes of thought—of our naturalism with our scripturalism—the philosophical with the historical element—or, if you please, the mystic with the rationalistic tendencies of our body. In my judgment, that will be the saddest day that has ever dawned upon our branch of the Christian Church when the one element succeeds in expelling the other.

Almost the whole of Mr. Martineau's critics seem to have fallen into the error of supposing that he disclaims the Unitarian theology and dislikes the Unitarian name; whereas what he really asserts is, that his sympathies and affinities refuse to limit themselves to believers in the Divine Unipersonality,—and that as we have inherited a free gospel from the past, we should be careful to transmit that noble inheritance to the future. I am much mistaken if there be any English Presbyterian, of whatever school, who truly understands and values his principles, that will demur to this statement. Surely it is not one of the least honourable characteristics of Unitarians that their religious feelings and sympathies far overleap the boundaries of their own denomination, and that they are taught to regard every humble and earnest Christian of whatever sect as a true disciple of the Master, a member of the Church Universal. You yourself nobly endorse the same sentiment when you say, "Nor do we feel that our Unitarian name and profession interfere in any degree with our sympathising with sincere and earnest Christians of every sect."

Both sides, then, are agreed that we have a theology founded upon the doctrine of the Divine Unity, whose proper name is "Unitarianism." No one is ashamed of the name; no one proposes to abandon the name, or to substitute any other name. On the contrary, we are all of us—old school and new—most justly proud of it; and we are all resolved to adhere to it so long as it describes our theological position. The real and only point of difference is this, viz., whether we are to consider our body as a society *banded together for* the support and propagation of Unitarian principles, or simply as that branch of the Christian Church which *has come to adopt* Unitarian principles. Some of your readers will probably smile at this, and call it a distinction without a difference. In reality, however, there is a difference, though whether readily appreciable or very important, I will not undertake to determine. In the first case, you make Unitarianism the binding principle of our association, without which it has no meaning and no object; in the second case, you affirm that we are that section of the Church which, in the exercise of its Christian liberty, has become Unitarian, but which as it has a past, so also may have a future existence independently of its Unitarianism.

For my own part, I cannot help feeling that the latter definition includes the former, and is the truer and nobler position. It is true, I think, that we are a *society* of Christians holding distinct and definite views of theology, and therefore bound to support and propagate those views; but not the less true that we are a *Church* with other functions than those of a polemic association, and other ties and affinities than mere intellectual agreement. And thus, it seems to me, we should resolve this *vexata quæstio.* A Church is something more than a theological society. The greater includes the less. We have a pure and noble faith, which it is our duty to maintain and to spread; we have also, I hope, affinities of spirit, ties of reverence and sympathy, which bind us not alone to those of our own faith, but to the wise and good, the gentle and true of other faiths, ages, and lands.

Chester, Nov. 10, 1859. S. F. MACDONALD.

[The solution of the difficulty would appear to be in the concurrent existence, for an indefinite time, of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, a Society of Individuals, and the National Conference, developed so as to represent the fuller Congregational and Church life. In the present writer's opinion a gift of £50,000 to the latter would translate potentiality into actuality.

Dr. Martineau, so late as 1872 (see *Inter Amicos*, 1901) was of his 1859 opinion: but, by 1888 he had come to see that "the little corner" of the Universal Church would be a better corner for some union of Congregations. His scheme might have been more warmly received, if his foundation of fellowship had been as wide as the "Open Trust" for "the public worship of God."]

The other and local controversy led to Mr. Macdonald's resignation. It also had its roots in history. What was the original government of this Chapel, or of the chapels of the "Moderate Dissenters" often called Presbyterian, as distinguished from the Church of England, by law established, and from the Independents, with their inner "Church" circle?

Matthew Henry himself gives evidence in *The Lay-Man's Reasons*:—

"The ministers, presiding in these assemblies (permitted and allowed at the time of the late glorious revolution, 1 William & Mary), ordained by presbyters, chosen by the people.

"The ordinances administered in them, not by a set, prescribed, constant form, but by the rule of the Scripture in general, and according to the measure of the gift given to him that ministers.

"The discipline managed (not by the Chancellor of diocese and his court, but) by the minister himself, who presides in other ordinances, with the advice and concurrence of the congregation."

We thus find "Minister" and "Congregation" concerned in government.

There is an entry "March 22^{d}, 1768. At a meeting of this Society . . . This being the Day for nominating and electing Deacons. . . ." Four were elected for the year. They were sometimes called "Elders." Later, this usage was omitted; and, for a long period, nothing is said of an election at all, till, at the beginning of last century, mention is made of the appointment of a "Treasurer." He was always a Trustee. Gradually the practical power centred in the hands of the Trustees. Of the eight members of the congregation present, May 5

1856, four were already Trustees, and three of the others were afterwards appointed to the office. The allocation of moneys was the chief business at the annual meetings, formerly termed of the "Society," afterwards of the "Vestry," at which, however, members of the congregation were present, and appeared to take part in the disposition of the Trust-funds. In the early times the "Trusts" would make but an insignificant portion of the Chapel revenues; and in the oldest legacy, Hignett's, 1708, £100 "is to be distributed by the 'chief members' of Mr. Henry's congregation." The absence of any Constitution led gradually to "Trustee" government, and, finally, to "Treasurer," or "One-Man" government; in other words, no "Church" government at all.

The members of the Congregation retained, however, the power of inviting a new minister. For one century the ministers were appointed Trustees, in the next they were not; and it became more and more difficult for them to lead their people out of the grooves of past generations. A radical theology was curiously wont to be the conservative handmaiden of ancient custom in externals: and strenuous insistence, for every man, on equal and sacred rights of private judgment, was not deemed incongruous with oligarchic assumption of public administration.

Mr. Macdonald in his letter of Resignation gave his reasons:—

1. Four-fifths of the members had signed a Requisition expressing confidence in his services: but they were powerless.

2. He had contended for the principle of *Congregational self-government*, believing in the right of every Christian Society to choose its own leaders and to regulate its own affairs. "You have been ruled by an irresponsible despotism, and unfortunately, a despotism but faintly tempered by wisdom. Against this I have protested, and I hope at last with success."

3. "It is now admitted, I believe, that the propositions

which I drew up at the request of the Congregation are perfectly right and necessary for its prosperity, and will be[1] adopted by the Trustees of the Chapel, provided only that I leave this pulpit. I gladly, therefore, offer myself a sacrifice for your benefit."

At Rochdale, Mr. Macdonald "left a fragrant memory": so says one of his successors.

11.—JOHN K. MONTGOMERY, *Mar.*, 1860—*Mar.*, 1896.

Ed. Belfast. Previous Congregations, Huddersfield, 1849–1859; Torquay, 1847–1849; Tavistock, 1844–1847. *M.* Mary, eldest dau. of Rev. C. J. McAlester, Minister of Holywood, Co. Down (1834–1891). Their family consisted of one daughter and three sons. (Supplied by Mr. Montgomery.)

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[1] This statement is practically borne out by the minutes. At a meeting held Jan. 1st, 1860, a committee was appointed "to consider the code of rules for the Regulation of the affairs of the Congregation," and "the first of the rules in the New Code, which defines 'what constitutes a member,' was discussed and adopted by the meeting."

The committee, aided by Mr. Montgomery, did their work, and at the annual meeting of the Congregation, May 9th, 1860, the "Code of Regulations for the Management of Chapel Affairs" was carried unanimously.

Messrs. Rowlinson, Humble, Allen, Moreland, Scott "were elected members of the Vestry (to act with the five Trustees)."

Messrs. Moreland, Rowlinson, Wilbraham, Orrett, and Little were appointed for the next year.

The curtain soon falls, and for twenty years the Minute-book is blank. It may be noted that since 1896 the above Code has been for the first time a living thing. Certain minor extensions have been made in membership, and the minister is *ex-officio* a member of the Vestry, which is constituted of five of the Trustees, five members elected by the Congregation, and the minister.

This better treatment of the minister, which is only in accord with the original custom, may be commended to other Chapels, old and new: to the new, as an act of the merest common sense;

The following is taken from a speech of Mr. Montgomery's, reported in *The Inquirer*, Feb. 7, 1863 :—

"Mr. Montgomery spoke of the spirit in which the interior of the chapel had been so tastefully adapted to the comfort and convenience of the congregation some twenty years ago. When lately the almshouses were removed from before the chapel, the ravages of time were so apparent that it became absolutely necessary to do something to improve the front, and adapt it to modern tastes and improvements.

"The whole cost was £930, of which £600–700 (including £150 from accumulated funds) had been raised by the congregation ; the remainder, with the exception of £40–50, had been contributed by the kindness of friends at a distance. The deficit, including cost of the proposed tablet to Philip Henry—as companion to that of Matthew —would be somewhat under £100."

The P. H. tablet was not erected, but "a subscription was at once entered into," and the debt liquidated.

Mr. Montgomery sent in his letter of Resignation, Dec. 16, 1895. In the reply of the Congregation, dated Feb. 6, 1896, we read :—

and to the old in addition, as the reversion of an act of usurpation. The following extracts from the Minute-book will show the use which the Congregation and Vestry have made of their powers :—

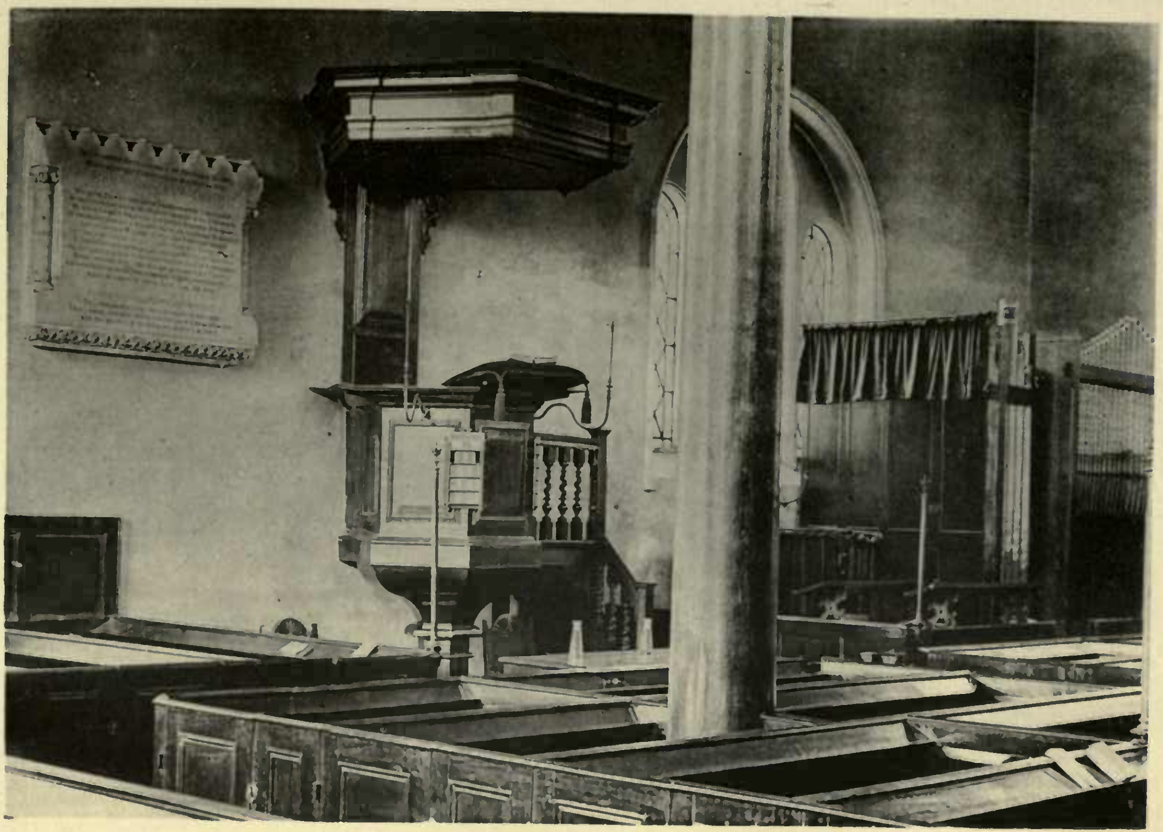
Oct. 8, 1896 : "That with a view to brighten the Chapel services, we desire our Minister to compile a few short Services."

"That we hereby adopt the Essex Hall Hymnal with Chants" (in place of the "old Martineau").

"That Social Evenings are desirable."

June 14, 1898 : "The Minister to be *ex-officio* member of the Vestry."

May 16, 1900 : "Appointment of a Secretary to the Congregation." (Hitherto, Treasurer and Secretary were combined, Mr. Wm. Orrett being now relieved of one of the dual functions, after ten years' hard labour.) Mr. Arthur Orrett, who had been a mainstay of the Sunday School since 1875, and for many years Superintendent, was appointed Hon. Sec. to the Congregation.



". . . It was with feelings of deep regret that we heard of the causes which have led you to give up the trust confided to you so long ago. . . .

"We cannot part with you without expressing our warmest appreciation of your long and valued services in the pulpit, and of your unwearied and successful efforts in the cause of unsectarian Education and of Civil and Religious Liberty. . . ."

The Victoria Road British Schools,[1] of which Mr. Montgomery is still Secretary, are the monument to his educational zeal: and it must be peculiarly gratifying to him that, at the present time, the average attendance has topped 500, whilst the efficiency maintains, at the least, its high standard.

Mr. Montgomery published in pamphlet form in 1863, "EARLY NONCONFORMITY IN CHESTER; A SHORT ACCOUNT OF MATTHEW HENRY; HIS RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL AND MINISTERIAL LABOURS; being the Substance of Lectures delivered on occasion of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of his Birth." 8vo, pp. 47.

This would well bear re-publication to-day.

12.—H. D. ROBERTS, *July*, 1896—*Sept.*, 1900.

Now Missionary to the Liverpool District Missionary Association.

13.—H. E. HAYCOCK, *Oct.*, 1900—

Min. Loughborough, 1893–1900.

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[1] "3. . . . The Gentry of the Nation have generally left the Dissenters, the Men of Business are kept from them by the Sacramental Test, and the Charity Schools will carry off the Poor of the Nation.

"4. It is complain'd of (how justly I know not) that many who are bred in the publick Charity-Schools discover a great Enmity to the Dissenters; it is therefore desirable that some should be bred up among us, who should be taught, on the contrary, to have and express great Charity and Moderation towards those of the publick Establishment, and so to overcome Evil with Good."

M. H.

CHAPTER X

BICENTENARY CELEBRATIONS

THE Bicentenary[1] of Matthew Henry's Chapel at Chester was celebrated on Sunday and Monday, October 28 and 29. The fine old building has recently been re-roofed and otherwise restored at a cost of some £900, towards the balance of which, not yet raised, any profits there may be on the forthcoming History of the Chapel, by the Rev. H. D. Roberts, the late minister, are to be devoted.

The commemoration services on Sunday were conducted in the morning by the present minister, the Rev. H. E. Haycock, whose subject was "The Continuity of the Spirit" (Hebrews xi. 39, 40), and in the evening by the Rev. Principal Gordon, of Manchester, who took for his text Judges xiv. 14, "Out of the eater came forth meat, and out of the strong came forth sweetness." In the course of his sermon[2] he said Chester was as early as 1551 identified with Dissent.

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[1] From *The Inquirer*, November 10, 1900.

[2] See pp. 121 n., 134 f.

One preacher on that date was burnt for heresy in the Castle.

THE PUBLIC MEETING.

On Monday, October 29, a large and representative public meeting was held in the chapel, presided over by Sir John T. Brunner, Bart., M.P., President of the B. and F.U.A. and a trustee of the chapel. Amongst those present were the Revs. J. K. Montgomery, Charles Hargrove, H. Enfield Dowson, Dendy Agate, H. D. Roberts, G. A. Payne, J. Morley Mills, W. F. Turland, R. S. Redfern, and H. E. Haycock, Messrs. W. Orrett (treasurer), A. Orrett (secretary), J. Johnston, E. Powell, F. Garside, Major Bryan Johnson, W. Long (Warrington), J. Gresty (Whitchurch), and C. M. Holland (Wrexham).

Apologies for absence were announced from the Mayor, the Right Hon. Herbert Gladstone, M.P., Mr. S. Moss, M.P., Sir Thomas and Lady Frost, and a number of friends in Chester and the district, the Rev. R. A. Armstrong (Liverpool), also local ministers of other denominations.

The meeting was opened with hymn and prayer offered by the Rev. J. K. Montgomery, formerly minister of the chapel.

Sir JOHN BRUNNER offered his hearty congratulations on the change that had been made in that venerable building, not only to those who sat there from Sunday to Sunday and who lived in the immediate neighbourhood, but to all of them, because that building belonged not merely to the few who lived in Chester, but to all of them, from one end of the country to the other. He had, he said, dreamt on a good many occasions of late of starting a new Reformation. Perhaps the best way to start a Reformation in these days was to introduce a Bill into the House of Commons. What would they think of it if he brought in a Bill for the amendment of the Prayer Book? He wondered how many members of the House of Commons he could get to ballot for the chance of bringing in that Bill? If all the voting were to be by ballot as well as the voting to obtain a place for the Bill, he fancied he should have a good many supporters, because the members of the House of Commons were a good deal more advanced in their opinions than the average constituent; but as there was no hope of voting by ballot there he doubted whether such a Bill would have a chance, though the historians among them would tell them that there had been occasions on which it appeared they were on the edge of such a reformation. Their friends of the Church of England were becoming from opposite directions more and more keenly interested in themselves, and he should be very glad indeed to see them going on thinking about their position. A clergyman who wrote to him a few days ago, taking a new interest in his recovered position as a member of Parliament, asked whether he would support a Bill that had already been brought into the House of Lords by the Bishop of Rochester. One part of that Bill appeared to be to endow the laity with a real voice in the appointment of their pastors, but it was to be limited. It was to be within the limits of Church Order. If that Bill came into the House of Commons and he found this power too restricted, he should feel strongly inclined to move to omit the words "within the limits of Church Order." If only they could endow the laity in every place of worship in the Church of England with absolute, not limited power, to appoint their own pastors, he thought they would have taken a very great step in freedom in religious matters. He rather doubted the authors of this Bill, for the reason that the very clergyman who wrote to him to secure his support hit him very hard a few years ago on account of a declaration of his. Why it happened he did not know, but it came to him as a matter of duty to declare that his religion was comprised in the two great commandments of which it was said by an authority that they were all bound to respect, that on them hung all the law and the prophets. After he had said those commandments bounded and comprised his religion, this rev. gentleman took it upon himself to say in his parish magazine that it was blasphemy. His recommendation of the Bill for the benefit of the Church of England did not therefore come to him as a very sound recommendation. He spoke awhile ago of his dream of a new Reformation. Perhaps a better way than bringing a Bill into the House of Commons would be to try and remind their friends of the Church of England what it was they believed, or what it was they officially believed—or believed they believed. He found very few who knew what it was they believed — what it was they officially believed. . . . He had only one other thing to mention. He observed it stated on a printed form before him that the congregation had not yet provided an effective means of heating that building; that final decoration had been compulsorily postponed, and that the brass tablet bearing the names of the ministers existed only in idea. Then followed the remark that the two windows on the north wall on either side of the pulpit should be of stained glass with portraits in the centre of Matthew Henry and Dr. Martineau. The heating apparatus, as a first essential, and the other requirements he thought they would soon provide, but it might be long before they got the windows, which were to be a memento of two beautiful lives, and these Sir John concluded by offering to give to the congregation, an offer which was accepted with hearty applause.

The Rev. H. E. Dowson, B.A. (Gee Cross), having referred to the leadership of Sir John Brunner in all that was best and noblest in that part of the country, and especially in the cause of unsectarian education, and also to their happiness in the presence of a venerable ex-minister of that congregation, who at eighty-four seemed one of the youngest men he knew, delivered an address on "Our Spiritual Ancestry." To be present, he said, at the bicentenary of a chapel founded by Matthew Henry was to be on a pilgrimage. He was a pilgrim to a shrine that was very sacred, and felt himself breathing the sacred air of religious liberty, devotion, and noble self-sacrifice for what was dearer than life. He thought of many of the great claims to reverence of those spiritual ancestors of theirs, and wondered whether they had the grit of their fathers. The chapel of his spiritual forefathers, built in 1708, had not even flags on the floor—there was only the bare earth, and no stove; yet in the old days people tramped there from far and wide. Some of them came ten miles or so from the countryside to worship in that cold, damp building; but the warmth of devotion in their hearts enabled them to worship God in spirit and in truth. Another trait was their love of liberty. They went out for conscience sake; they would not be bound down by any Act of Conformity. They went out to be free; and thank God they, their descendants, inherited that liberty. Such was the sacred legacy left them by Matthew Henry and all the great and good men who had gone before them. At that bicentenary celebration let them remember their self-devotion, their fidelity to conscience, and their love of liberty. Let them pray God for a re-baptism with that self-devotion of their spiritual ancestors.

The Rev. C. HARGROVE, M.A. (Mill Hill, Leeds), delivered an address on "Our Heritage of Freedom," in which he said their history was not to be valued by its length of 200 years. As the wise old Hebrew said, "Old age is not counted by years, nor is a man made venerable by the time he has lived." The question was not what years they could remember, but what work they had done. "Two hundred years!" the Churchman might say; "we have seven or eight hundred years." But what had been done in the seven or eight hundred years, and what had they done in the two? The Church of England had now the same formularies, was bound by the same articles and creeds, as 200 years ago; they boasted that the years passed over their heads bringing no wisdom with them. There was no change; consequently, with no change, there was no growth. As for themselves, they had "lived" for these 200 years—lived from the beginning right on to now, always open for the free winds of heaven to blow upon them, and never submitting to any fetters, to any word of man who said, "Thus far, and no farther." They had undergone great changes of belief during the past 200 years, and who knew what changes would have taken place when the tercentenary came to be celebrated? Should they lay the dead hand on their successors and say, "We have come thus far—at last we have attained the truth—go not otherwise than we have gone. Think as we think now—learn no more, for no more is to be learned." If they said so, they were unfaithful to the whole spirit of the past; they were unworthy of the inheritance of that place, and should go from it, and leave others to take their place. The faith and opinions of the generations to be they knew not, but their message to them from the second century was this: "Brothers, teach not as we teach, think not as we think, speak not as we speak, but be true to the Spirit of God and trust Him; teach as God shall teach to you. Speak the truth whatever it shall cost you; think as far as it is given to man to think, the thoughts of God, which are the eternal truth."

The Rev. DENDY AGATE, B.A. (Altrincham), giving an address on "Old Principles applied to New Duties," said it seemed to be a parody and caricature of that principle of freedom to which they held first and foremost, to say they would not teach their children what they themselves believed because they did not wish to bias their minds. That was an absolutely mistaken notion. If they valued religion for themselves, if their professed place in the church, whatever it might be, had been a guide and strength to them, if from the worship at which they assembled with others on Sundays they were able to gather strength for the doing of their own work in the world, surely these things, if they were deep and true in their own hearts, could not be of no consequence in connection with the lives of their children. Over and over again in the past they had lost those who would have been with them to-day in all their earnestness and devotion to the faith, because they had said, "We will not influence or bias them, but leave them to grow up and form their own religious convictions for themselves." What happened? Either they drifted into self-satisfied indifference, or other churches with stronger faith, more devotion to their professed principles, had come in their way, and with their stronger hearts and wills swept them into the popular churches. It was a serious matter. Like Joseph Priestley, James Martineau, and others, they should make it a steady part of their work to train the young people of their congregation in the knowledge of their history and in devotion to spiritual, practical, earnest religion.

The Rev. H. D. ROBERTS moved a vote of thanks to the Committee of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association and to other friends who had contributed to the fund for the restoration of that historic place of worship. He explained that the alterations in the structure had necessitated an outlay of £900. Towards this they had raised £700, but on work actually completed they were £100 in debt.

Mr. W. ORRETT seconded, remarking that the generous response from the Unitarian public throughout the kingdom had been most unexpected by the Committee, and they appreciated it most gratefully.

The motion was carried; after which, on the motion of the Rev. H. E. HAYCOCK, seconded by Major JOHNSON, a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Principal Gordon, Sir John Brunner, and the Revs. H. E. Dowson, C. Hargrove, D. Agate, for their eloquent addresses.

Hymn and Benediction brought to a close a most uplifting and memorable gathering.

[A few final words on the lines of Religious Development may find place here.

The Independent fought the fight for liberty to found Churches clear of the State; so did the Baptist. "Toleration" was their battle-cry.

When the Presbyterian had learned the lesson, he still clave to "Comprehension," and hence we get Matthew Henry's "Catholic Christianity." "My children's schoolmistress was an Anabaptist, but in constant communion with us."

There were not enough broad-minded Englishmen, at the time of the Revolution, like John Locke or Philip Henry; or, if there were, they did not assert themselves: and thus we read a touching petition in the Roman Catholic *Manual of Prayers*, 1728, "That it may please Thee to incline the Hearts of all our Magistrates, rightly to understand our Religion, and impartially to consider our Sufferings, and how hardly soever they may deal with us, make us still with exactest Fidelity to perform our Duties towards them; *we beseech Thee, hear us.*"

On the other hand, legal limitations upon Religious Thought set up disease, and the eighteenth century suffered blight. We find *Scripture Doctrines of the Trinity*, when there was no such "Trinity." Some effort was made in the last half of the century to induce Parliament to relax the bonds of Subscription. The minister of this Chapel bore his part; his people understood "the dissenting Principles." Archdeacon Blackburne, said to be no holder of heretical opinions, though his son was under Priestley's care at Warrington, thought it "wholly wrong to attempt to settle religion once for all in an uncontrollable form." It was on the failure to obtain relaxation of the terms of Subscription that the Archdeacon's son-in-law, Lindsey, left (1773) the Church of England. Some Relief was given to Dissenters in 1779.

Now, Independents and Baptists alike had revolted from external authority; but, doctrinally, they set up a fixed, though voluntary, standard, for all time. Let them believe with all their might what they believe; but let them recognise that "Revelation is not closed," and, practically, acknowledge "God hath still more Light and Truth to break forth from His Word." Hence we make a plea for the "Open Trust."

The "High-flyers" of two centuries ago are now panting for the release of the Church of England from the fetters of the State, whilst Bishops plaintively plead with them for Obedience. From "The Churchmen's Liberation League" we take our closing sentences:—

"1. We believe that State control enfeebles and tends to destroy the spiritual life of the Church, by encouraging her to lean on the support of, and to accommodate her teaching to the Secular Commonwealth.

"4. We believe that the maintenance of an Established Church is bad for the spiritual life of the nation; because it tends to foster a false Conscience, and to make people think that National Righteousness consists in the legal Establishment of the Church, rather than in the personal religion of individual men and women."]

TRUSTS AND LISTS

LIST OF SERVICES

From the time that Mr. Henry left Chester, to the time—

1712. ON LECTURE DAYS.

May 30. Mr. Kynnaston (? eldest son of Kynnaston, Knutsford, *d.* 1696).
June 6. Mr. Blackmore (Worcester).
13. Mr. Murry (see pp. 89, 201).
20. Mr. Murry.
27. Mr. Bassnet (Liverpool, Kaye Street, now Hope Street).
July 4. Mr. Kynnaston.
11. Mr. Ash (? Bradwell).
18. Mr. Kendrick, Wrexham.
25. Mr. Lea (Knutsford).
Aug. 1. Mr. Woodes (Chowbent, see p. 107 f.).
8. Mr. Murry.
15. Mr. Owens (? Warrington, Cairo St.).
22. Mr. Mottershead (Nantwich : Cross Street, Manchester).
29. Mr. Murry.
Sept. 5. Mr. Lea and Mr. Murry, being quarterly fast.
12. Mr. Wittingham (? Withington).
19. Mr. Bynon (? Benion D., Whitchurch).
26. Mr. Murry.
Oct. 3. Mr. Aldred (Monton).

ON THE LORDS DAYES. 1712.

May 18. Mr. Bynon.
25. Mr. Kenrick of Wrexham.
June 1. Mr. Blackmore. He administred the Sacrament.
8. Mr. Blackmore and Mr. Kynnaston.
15. Mr. Blackmore.
22. Mr. Murry.
29. Mr. Bassnett and Mr. Kynnaston.
July 6. Mr. Kynnaston.
13. Mr. Ash.
20. Mr. Kenrick, and administred the Sacrament.
27. Mr. Lea.
Aug. 3. Mr. Murry.
10. Mr. Mottershead.
17. Mr. Owens.
24. Mr. Worthington (Dean Row).
31. Mr. Aldred.
Sept. 7. { Mr. Lea and Mr. Bassnet administred the Sacrament
Mr. Lea.
14. Mr. Murry.
21. Mr. Bynon.
28. Mr. Bourn (Bolton, Bank Street).
Oct. 5. Mr. Aldred. He administred the Sacrament.

1712.		On Lecture Days.			On the Lord's Dayes. 1712.
	10.	Mr. Murry.		12.	Doctor Holland (Macclesfield).
	17.	Mr. Aldred.			
	24.	Mr. Murry.		19.	Mr. Murry.
	31.	Mr. Kynnaston.		26.	Mr. Kynnaston.
Nov.	7.	Mr. Murry.	Nov.	2.	Mr. Woodes. He administred the Sacrament.
	14.	Mr. Woodes.			
	21.	Mr. Murry.			
	28.	Mr. Murry.		9.	Mr. John Kenrick.
				16.	Mr. Murry.
				23.	Mr. Kynnaston.
				30.	Mr. Kynnaston.
Dec.	5.	Mr. Murry.	Dec.	7.	Mr. Murry.
	12.	Mr. Aldred.		14.	Mr. Aldred. He administred the Sacrament.
	19.	Mr. Aldred.			
	26.	Mr. Murry.			
				21.	Mr. Aldred.
Jan.	1.	Mr. Mottershead.		28.	Mr. Bynon.
	10.	Mr. John Kenrick.	Jan.	4.	Mr. Mottershead.
	17.	Mr. Murry.		12.	Mr. John Kenrick.
	24.	Mr. Aldred.		19.	Mr. Bassnett.
	(?) 30.	Mr. Aldred.		26.	Mr. Aldred.
Feb.	6.	Mr. Murry.	Feb.	1.	Mr. Aldred. Hee administred the Sacrament.
	13.	Mr. Murry.			
	20.	Mr. Withington (see pp. 104 n., 201).			
	27.	Mr. Murry.		8.	Mr. Murry.
				15.	Mr. Withington.
				22.	Mr. Withington.
Mar.	6.	Mr. Murry.	Mar.	1.	Mr. Aldred. He administred the Sacrament.
	13.	Mr. Holland.			
	20.	Mr. Withington.			
	27.	Mr. Withington.		8.	Mr. Murry.
				15.	Mr. Withington.
				22.	Mr. Withington.
				29.	Mr. Withington.
April	3.	Mr. Woodes.	April	5.	Mr. Woodes. He administred the Sacrament.
	10.	Mr. Withington.			
	17.	Mr. Withington.			
	24.	Mr. Withington.		12.	Mr. Withington.
				19.	Mr. Withington.
May	1.	Mr. Withington.		26.	Mr. John Kenrick.

A REGISTER OF ALL THE PERSONS I HAVE ADMITTED TO THE LORD'S TABLE SINCE MY SETTLEMENT AT CHESTER IN THE BEGINNING OF OCTOBER, 1713

	NAMES	TIME OF THEIR ADMISSION
1	Benjamin Saunders	Dec. 6th. 1713.
2	His Wife	Ditto „
3	Mrs. Dorcas Hunt	June 3 $17\frac{13}{14}$
4	Mrs. Mary Hulton	Ditto
5	Catherine Radford	Ditto
6	Susanna Cummin from Usher's Quay, Dublin	Ditto
7	Mary Moreton	April 4th. 1714
8	Alice Yates	Same time
9	Mary Bennet	May 2nd. 1714
10	Mrs. Dorothy Kenrick	June 6th
11	Mary Tylston	Same time
12	Mary Key	September 5. 1714
13	Elizabeth Shaw from Middlewich	Same time
[14	Mrs. Philpot	Aug. 1. 1714]
15	Elizabeth Mullineaux	Nov. 7. 1714
16	Mary Newell	Same time
17	Alice Weston	Dec. 5 1714
18	Abigail Cook	Jan. 2d. 1714 : 15
19	John Wetherston	Same time
20	Mary his wife	
21	Frances Kirks	Feb. 6 $17\frac{14}{15}$
22	Christian Cummin	
23	Mrs. Penkett	April 3d 1715
24	Hannah Tylston	June 5 1715
25	Thomas Floyd	Jan. 1st. 1715 : 16
26	Elizabeth Low	Feb. 5th. $17\frac{15}{16}$
27	Judith Hickock	September 2d 1716
28	Jane Wilbraham	October 7th 1716
29	Abigail Low	Decembr. 2. 1716
30	Lydia Barker	January 6th $17\frac{16}{17}$
31	Eliza : Hinton	
32	Jonathan Gouldson	February 3d. $17\frac{16}{17}$
33	Thomas Moulson	March 3d $17\frac{16}{17}$
34	Josiah Cummins	
35	Jonathan Jones	April 7. 1717

	Names	Time of their Admission
36	Widdow Gawsey	May 6th. 1717
37	Ann Smith	July 7th
38	Bethaia Brackley	Aug. 4th
39	Mr. Lardin	Sept. 1.
40	Lydia Presbyry	Febr. 2
41	Samuel Humphreys	
42	Jonathan Bostock Junior	
43	Ebenezer Cummin	
44	Thomas Mullineaux Junior	
45	Robert } Philpot	
46	John	
47	Mrs. Bagnal	April 5th 1719
48	Mrs. Alice Bostock	April 5th. 1719.
49	Penkett	May 3 1719
50	Mr. Bostock's Maid	July 5
51	Hannah Moulson	Nov. 1. 1719
52	Mrs. Hunt's Maid	
53	Mrs. Witton	
54	Mrs. Willson	
55	Esther Sharp	Dec. 6. 1719
56	Elizabeth Batts	April 2 1721
57	John Tylston	
58	John Kinsey	Sept. 7th. 1723
59	John Vaughan	
60	Mrs. Wrench	
61	Mary Dobb	May 5. 1723
62	Jane Cornelius	
63	Joseph Cook	December i. 1723.
64	Elizabeth wife of Matthew Sharp	March 1st 172¾
65	John Sharp	
66	Joseph Bury	June 7 1724
67	Mary his Wife	
68	Benjamin Bolton	July 5th 1729
69	Jane Bolton his wif	
70	John Kirks	Sep^{r} 3d 1727
71	Thomas Gerrard	
72	Elizabeth Club	Decemb^{r}. 3d 1727
73	Catherine Palmer	
74	Miss Molly Henry	
75	Mrs. Ann Ratclif...	
76	Mrs. Mary Vicars	
77	Mrs. Frances Hulton	June 2d 1728.

TRUSTS

MRS. ELIZABETH NORBURY'S LEGACY, CALLED "THE EDUCATION FUND."

Mrs. Norbury, by her will dated Dec. 2, 1726, left the sum of two hundred pounds in the hands of trustees to be invested in the purchase of land at their discretion, the income from which is to be applied to the maintenance and education of young men of the Presbyterian persuasion then studying divinity, and who shall be of pious and sober lives.

MR. TIMOTHY DEAN'S LEGACY, CALLED "THE DISSENTING MINISTERS' AND WIDOWS' FUND."

Mr. Timothy Dean, by his will dated March 20, 1726, bequeathed to five trustees three closes of land in Handbridge, called Quarry Head or Stable field, the income from which is to be applied as follows at the discretion of the trustees: one moiety to be distributed to three of the poorest ministers commonly reported to be of the Presbyterian persuasion, giving the preference to such ministers residing in the city and county of Chester, and next to them, to such ministers residing in the county of Lancashire. The other moiety to be distributed among three of the poorest widows of nonconforming ministers of the Presbyterian persuasion chosen in the above manner.

MR. TIMOTHY DEAN'S ALMSHOUSE CHARITY.

Mr. Timothy Dean, by his will dated March 20, 1726, left to five trustees the moiety of a close of land in Handbridge, called Tentry Heys, with two small houses erected on the Quarry Head field. The trust to fit up and alter, with the rents and profits of the said moiety, the two houses for the separate lodging of two poor men and two poor women each of the age of fifty-six or upwards, who shall have the houses for life unless removed from them by the trustees for immoral conduct, and that the rents and profits of the said moiety (subject to deductions for taxes, repairs, &c., of the said two houses) should be applied towards the maintenance of such two poor men and two poor women as should be from time to time elected, share and share alike.

MRS. JANE DEAN'S ALMSHOUSE CHARITY.

Mrs. Jane Dean, by her will dated Sept. 20, 1729, bequeathed to her executors the sum of £350, part of which should be expended in the purchase of land in the city or county of Chester on which to erect four houses, in which, when built, should be placed four poor old women of good lives and conversation and of the Presbyterian persuasion, such as her executors, whom she also made her trustees, should make choice of. The remainder of the £350 to be laid out in the purchase of land in the city or county of Chester, the income from which, after deductions for repairs, &c., is to be paid yearly to the four poor old women, share and share alike.

The above two trusts were amalgamated in 1888-9 under a scheme approved by the Charity Trustees. The land in Queen's Park called Tentry Heys was sold to Messrs. Fielden Bros., and the proceeds invested in Consols (1888). The united income of the charities (now called T. and J. Dean's Almshouse Charities) are applied as follows:—Four poor women are provided with two rooms, four shillings and sixpence per week, and one ton and a half of coals in the winter, each, and two poor men with five shillings per week each.

MR. WILLIAM TRAFFORD'S LEGACY.

Mr. William Trafford, by his will dated April 17, 1640, left the sum of £100 to four trustees to buy a parcel of land, the profit thereof to be bestowed for such pious uses as his trustees might appoint.

MR. ROBERT ALDERSEY'S TRUST.

In April, 1826, Mr. Robert Aldersey presented to the Chapel trustees the fee simple of the small houses belonging to him adjoining the Chapel yard, the rents, after deductions for rates, taxes, and repairs, to be paid to the minister for the time being officiating at the Presbyterian Chapel in Crook Street. Provided that the trustees for the time being or the major part of them shall at any time have liberty to withhold the further payment of the rents to such minister from the last day on which such rents may have become due, and shall from thenceforth appropriate them from time to time to such charitable uses for the benefit of the Crook Street Society of Presbyterians as the trustees or the major part shall think fit.

THE TRUST OF MRS. LECKONBY AND OTHERS.

The funds of this trust were formerly in River Dee Stock. They were sold to the River Dee Company in 1869, and the proceeds invested in Consols in 1870. The application of the income is as follows:—Three-fourths goes to the minister for the time being of Crook Street Chapel, the remaining fourth to the Sunday School or such other uses as the trustees may determine.

The details that follow are for the purpose of noting pious donors, and also to indicate the nature of the trust.

SAMUEL HIGNET, of Holt, mariner, left "one hundred pounds of current mony of England" to the "Society of Christs people belonging to Mr. Henryes meeting house in Chester, to bee pay'd to y^{e} minister & cheife members of y^{t} Society to bee distributed amongst Christs poore needy members & people." :"On the 24th of March, 1707, Mr. Matthew Henry, minister, Mr. John Holland, Mr. S$^{m\cdot}$ Kirkes, Sen$^{r\cdot}$, & John Hulton, went to Holt to receive y^{e} hundred pound. . . ."

"MR. JOHN FRANCE, of Chowbent, having in his life time given unto Samuel Kirkes, Junio^{r}, Upholsterer, and Edward Hinck's, Linnendraper, Ten pounds in Trust," they, Dec. 29, 1730, put it to interest, which was "to be paid to the Reverend Mr. John Gardner, Minister of the Chappell or meeting house within the City of Chester and to his Successors."

MRS. MARY YOUNG left £10, Aug. 20, 1744, the interest of which was to go "to the Protestant Dissenting Minister of the Presbiterian perswasion": so long as "the Toleration or Liberty now allowed" shall last; otherwise to such charitable uses as the Trustees of the Chapel should think fit.

TIMOTHY DEAN left £30, by his will, dated March 20, 1726, the interest of which was to go to the "maintenance of a Dissenting Protestant Minister preaching in ordinary at the Chappel or Meeting house erected for that purpose in the City of Chester."

JANE DEAN, by will dated Sept. 20, 1729, left £30, the interest of which was to be for the "use of the Minister of the Congregation of Dissenting protestants, whereof the Reverend Mr. John Gardner is now Minister."

The REV. MR. JOHN KING directed that after the interest on £400 should be enjoyed by Mrs. Francis Clive, spinster, of

Whitchurch, during "her naturall Life," £50 should go "to each of the Presbyterian Meeting Houses at Chester, Whitchurch, Wem, Namptwich, Stone, and Newcastle-under-Lyme, the interest whereof to go to the Ministers and the remaining £100 to the Trustees of the $s^{d.}$ Presbyterian Meeting house in the $s^{d.}$ City of Chester, for the same purpose as proposed in the will of his sister, Mrs. Elizabeth Norbury." The holders of the money, a Manchester firm, failed: so the chapels only got 8s. in the £.

MR. JOHN MOULSON, by will dated Oct., 1756, left £40 "to the Trustees of the Chapel or Meeting house where the Revd. Mr. John Gardner now officiates," the interest to go to the minister or ministers.

MRS. MARY BEVANS, by will dated Nov. 25, 1742 (received May 3, 1771), left £20 "to the Trustees of the Chappell or Meeting-house (where the said Mr. Gardner now officiates) the interest to go to the Protestant Dissenting Minister for the time being of Presbyterian perswasion officiating in the said Chappell." If there were two ministers, they were to share and share alike.

On Jan. 3, 1769, receipt is acknowledged of £40, "given by MR. JAMES STUBBS, druggist, and late of the City of Chester, for the use of the Presbyterian minister."

MR. JOHN EDDOWES, tobacconist, left by his will in 1768, the sum of £40 "to the Trustees of the Meeting house or Chapple where the $Rev^{d.}$ Mr. John Childlaw officiates, to be put out to interest for the benefit of the officiating minister."

MR. THOMAS MOULSON, tobacconist, bequeathed by will, July 14, 1778, "to the Trustees of the Chapple or Meetinghouse in Trinity Lane, where the $Rev^{d.}$ Mr. Chidlaw officiates, to be laid out in land or otherwise for the benefit of the Minister officiating in that place——" No sum was named, but £50 was paid.

Another THOMAS MOULSON left £50, by will dated July 24, 1785, "to the Trustees of the Edifice or Building with the appurtenances situate in or near Trinity Lane in the City of Chester commonly called the Chapel or Meetinghouse, and now made use of by Protestants of the Presbyterian denomination dissenting from the Church of England for the Exercise of Religious Worship." There follows a proviso, in case "Toleration" should be taken away.

MRS. PRISCILLA LECKONBY, Aug. 19, 1797, directed that her "shares in the Stock of the Company of and Proprietors of the undertaking for recovering and preserving the Navigation of the River Dee" should be sold speedily, "and the money raised put out to interest by the Trustees of the Chapel or Meeting-house in Trinity Lane used for the worship of Protestant Dissenters, and wherein the said John Chidlaw doth now or lately did officiate as Minister," "one half for the minister, one half for the poor (the poor persons of the said Congregation to be preferred before other poor persons)." The latter was, with the approval of the Commissioners, applied, in after years, to education.

MRS. ELIZABETH LIGHTBODY, of Liverpool, by will dated Aug. 21, 1799, gave £100 "to the trustees of the Meeting-house in Crook's Lane, Chester, in trust to pay the Interest to the Minister for the time being."

The **REVEREND JOHN CHIDLAW**, of the city of Chester, Minister of the Gospel, left £100, the interest to go "to the Pastors or Pastor, Minister or Ministers, for the time being of the Congregation of Protestant Dissenters assembling for Public Worship" in "the Chapel or Meeting house in Trinity Lane . . . where I was for many years Pastor or Teacher." There is a proviso respecting "Toleration."

To avoid the inconvenience of collecting small sums, the legacies to the ministers were invested in the years 1807 and 1814 in River Dee Stock. In 1807, £331 2s. 7d. River Dee Stock at 105 per cent. cost £347 13s. 8d. In 1814, £82 15s. 8d. River Dee Stock, including £2 8s. 6d. expenses, cost £105 8s. 6d.; and £153 10s. 6d. stock, with 3s. 1d. expenses, cost £215 1s. 6d.

The original Chapel-trust provides, in case "Toleration or Liberty" should be disallowed, "for the settling poor children to school, or teaching them to write or cast accounts, or setting them apprentices."

The author (Mr. Drysdale) of *The Use of the Name "Presbyterian" by Unitarians* (prepared at the request of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of England) may find above some suggestive reading.

TRUSTEES OF CHAPEL

Jane Shone
Owen Shone
Ralph Holland
sold, July, 1699, four houses, &c., to
Samuel Kirkes
Thomas Robinson
John Hulton
who leased and re-leased *29th and 30th Oct.*, 1701 :—

George Lea
John Hunt
Andrew Kendrick
Matthew Henry
Robert Murrey
(Alderman.)
John Kynaston
James Mainwaring

On 5 *and* 6 *September*, 1722.

Andrew Kenrick
James Mainwaring
Samuel Kirks
Thomas Robinson
John Gardner
Thomas Tylston
John Murrey
William ffarrington
Edward Hinks
Samuel Kirks—younger
Edward Hulton

10 *and* 11 *Nov.*, 1743.

Andr^{w}. Kenrick
J. W. Mainwaring
Tho. Tylston
(Doctor of Physick.)
John Gardner
Robert Murrey
(Clerk.)
John Tylston
(Merchant.)
Peter Leckonby
Thomas Hincks
Thomas Bulkeley
John Philpot
John Moulson

21 *March*, 1760.

John Philpot
John Gardner
Tho^{s}. Hincks
Tho. Bulkeley
John Tylston
(Doctor of Physick.
John Tylston
(Merchant.)
John Bagnall
Joseph Clubb
Thomas Moulson
John Chidlaw
Robert Aldersey

27 *May*, 1780.

Tho^{s}. Bulkeley
Jos. Clubbe
John Chidlaw
Robt. Aldersey
Edward Moulson
Alexander Eaton
Ralph Eddowes
William Boult
Thomas Moulson
John Kenrick

30 *Nov.*, 1806.

Ralph Eddowes
William Boult
John Kenrick
Thomas Moulson
John Moulson
Daniel Aldersey
Thomas Cropper, Jun^{r}.
John Nicholls

Thomas Swanwick
Joseph Swanwick
John Evans
S. Humphryes
John Johnson
Tho. Greswell

16 *and* 17 *May*, 1825.

Thomas Moulson
Thomas Cropper
John Nicholls
Tho^{s}. Swanwick
Jo^{s}. Swanwick
Jno. Johnson
Rob^{t}. Aldersey
Tho^{s}. Sudworth
Will^{m}. Murray
F. A. Frost
Jas. Johnson
Peter Long

9 *March*, 1842.

Tho^{s}. Cropper
Jno. Johnson
Will^{m}. Murray
F. A. Frost
Frederick Potts
Tho^{s}. Johnson
Edward Johnson
John Foulkes
Meadows Frost
Thomas G. Frost
T. W. Swanwick
W. H. Boult

21 *April*, 1861.

Thomas Johnson
Edward Johnson
Meadows Frost
Thomas Gibbons Frost
Joseph Wickstead Swanwick
John Evans Brassey
Bryan Johnson
Robert Frost
Edward Humble
John Rowlinson
John Allen

19 *September*, 1885.

Edward Johnson (*d.*)
Sir T. G Frost
Bryan Johnson
Robert Frost (*d.*)
John Rowlinson (*d.*)
Charles Menzies Holland
William Orrett
John Johnson
Thomas Arthur Johnson
John Tomlinson Brunner (now Sir John, Bart.)
William Long

(Names below "italic" line are new Trustees.)

MEMBERS OF VESTRY

ELECTED BY THE CONGREGATION.

Elected January, 1897, re-elected July, 1897. Mrs. E. Powell, Miss Montgomery, Messrs. J. Johnston, R. M. Montgomery, A. Orrett.

1898–1899. Miss Montgomery, Miss Wilbraham, Messrs. R. M. Montgomery, J. Johnston, A. Orrett.
1899–1900. Mrs. Lloyd, Miss Montgomery, Messrs. A. Orrett, F. Garside, E. Powell.
1900–1901. Miss Montgomery, Messrs. A. Orrett, F. Garside, E. Powell, J. Johnston.
1901–1902. Miss Montgomery, Messrs. A. Orrett, F. Garside, E. Powell, J. Johnston.

CONTRIBUTIONS FOR BUILDING A NEW MEETING-PLACE IN CHESTER, 1700.

	£	s.	d.
Tho. Lea, Esqr.	20	10	00
John Hunt, Esqr.	20	0	0
Mr. Henry, Minister	20	0	0
Mrs. Gregg, Widdow	11	0	0
Andrew Kendrick, Esqr.	10	0	0
Mr. James Mainwaring	10	0	0
Madm. Mainwaring, Wid.	10	0	0
Madm. Johnson	10	0	0
Mr, Saml. Kirkes	10	0	0
Mr. Tho. Robinson	10	0	0
Mr. John Hulton	10	0	0
Mr. Saml. Bennett	10	0	0
Geo. Booth, Esqr.	07	03	0
Mr. Nath. Bradburne	06	08	0
Aldm. Murrey	06	08	0
Mr. Tho. Fernihaugh	06	0	0
Aldm. Kinaston	05	10	0
Mrs. Dorothy Hind	05	10	0
Mr. Wm. Coker	05	07	06
Mrs. Eliz. Hough	05	07	06
Mrs. Eliz. Simpson	05	05	0
Sr. Henry Ashurst	05	0	0
Rich. Amphlet, Esqr.	05	0	0
Mr. John Palmer	05	0	0
Dr. Nevet	05	0	0
Dr. Brewen	05	0	0
Mr. David Parry	05	0	0
Mr. Peter Pemberton	05	0	0
Mr. Robt. Carrington	05	0	0
Mr. Wm. Cockain	05	5	0
Mr. Math. Buckley	05	0	0
Mr. Job Stathom	05	0	0
Mr. Podmore	05	0	0
Mrs. James Mrs. Smith	05	0	0
Mrs. Eliz. Witter	05	0	0
Mrs. Ellen Bennion	05	0	0
Mrs. Kath. Wenlock	05	0	0
Mrs. Rachel Williams	05	0	0
Mrs. Abigail Burrows	05	0	0
Mrs. Nicolls	05	0	0
Mrs. Eliz. Lawson	05	0	0
Mrs. Bassnett, Wid.	04	04	06
Mr. Hen. Pemberton	03	10	0
Mr. Robt. Buckley	03	10	0
Mr. Joseph Clubb	03	05	0
Mrs. King	03	05	0
Mr. Nath. Jolly	03	0	0
Mr. Henry Hall	03	0	0
Mr. John Bridge	03	0	0
Mr. Tho, Fearnall	03	0	0

	£	s.	d.
Mr. Rich. Penket	03	0	0
Mrs. Thames, Wid.	03	0	0
Mr. John Wayne	02	13	0
Mr. Humph. Hewit	02	10	0
Mr. Tho. Meols	02	10	0
Mr. John Pugh	02	10	0
Mrs. Clark	02	08	0
Mr. Joseph Wright	02	05	0
Mr. Higginson	02	03	0
Mrs. Axon	02	03	0
Mrs. Lauton	02	03	0
Saml. Hardware, Esq.	02	03	0
Mr. Saml. Cooke	02	01	6
Mr. Saml. Hotchkis	02	0	0
Mr. Nath. Beavand	02	0	0
Mr. Hen. Yong	02	0	0
Mr. Morgan	02	0	0
Mr. Ralph Hignett	02	0	0
Mr. Kelsall	02	0	0
Mr. Jno. Fradsham	02	0	0
Madm. Wynne	02	0	0
Mrs. Goodiar	02	0	0
Mr. Geo. Fearnall	01	11	6
Mrs. Bateman	01	11	6
Mrs. Massey	01	10	0
Mr. Hinton	01	10	0
Mr. Tho. Hall	01	10	0
Mr. Math. Brown	01	10	0
Mrs. Eliz. Farrington	01	10	0
Mrs. Venables	01	10	0
Mrs. Harvy	01	10	0
Mrs. Partington	01	10	0
Mr. Lewis Parry	01	10	0
The 3 Glaziers	01	10	0
Mr. Belty	01	09	00
Mrs. Bristow, Wid	01	09	00
Mr. Charles Jackson	01	08	00
Mr. Philpot	01	07	06
Mr. Saml. Smith, of Colten	01	07	06
Mr. Roughly	01	06	06
Mr. Saml. Welds	01	06	06
Mr. Robt. Radford	01	06	06
Widdow Yates	01	06	06
Mr. Tho. Billinge	01	06	06
Mr. Herbert Crosby	01	05	00
Mr. Geo. Martyn	01	05	00
Mr. Joseph Smith	01	05	00
Widdow Heylin	01	04	00
Mr. Ireland	01	02	06
Mr. John Savage	01	01	06
Mr. Tho. Bennion	01	01	06
Mr. Booth, of Sutton	01	01	06
Mr. Tho. Parry	01	01	06
Mr. Saml. Tylston	01	01	06
Mr. Simon Brackley	01	01	06
Mr. Joseph Lloyd	01	01	06
Mrs. Cartwright	01	01	06
Mrs. Crue	01	01	06
Mrs. Wynn	01	01	06
Mrs. Potter	01	01	06
Mrs. Hickock, Wid.	01	01	06
Mrs. Moulson, Wid.	01	01	06
Mr. John Golburne	01	00	00
Mr. John Bassnett	01	00	00
Mr. Ralph Sudlow	01	00	00
Mr. Roger Eddowes	01	00	00
Mr. John Yeamon	01	00	00
Mr. Hoole	01	00	00
Mr. Peter Wrench	01	00	00
Mr. Jonathan Goldson	01	00	00
Mr. Geo. Britain	01	00	00
Mr. Davies	01	00	00
Mr. Richard Williams	01	00	00
Mr. Shard	01	00	00
Mr. Edward Croughton	01	00	00
Mr. Kerrison	01	00	00
Randle Crane	01	00	00
Mrs. Gainor Williams	01	00	00
Mrs. Swinton	01	00	00
Mrs. Eleanor Skellern	01	00	00

	£	s.	d.
Widdow Jones	01	00	00
Mrs. Ellen Massy	01	00	00
Mr. Tho. Gibbons	01	00	00
Mrs. Martha Pickmore		15	00
Mrs. Welds		15	00
Widdow Chetwood		14	00
Mrs. Margt. Brown		12	06
Mrs. Garrard, Wid.		12	06
Mrs. Swain		12	06
Ann Heuard		12	06
Mr. John Kirkes		12	06
Mr. Isaac Pemberton		12	00
Mr. Stephen Leather		12	00
Mr. George Carmall		12	00
E. B.		12	00
Mrs.Willson,Widdow		12	00
Mary Minshall		11	00
Mrs.DorothyKennion		10	09
Mrs. S. P.		10	00
Mrs. M. W.		10	00
Mrs. K. T.		10	00
Mrs. M. D.		10	00
Hannah Ellis		10	00
Rebeckah Wayne		10	00
Margt. Harrison		10	00
Wid. Green		10	00
Hannah Baggall		10	00
Mrs. Mary Bolland		10	00
Widdow Oakill		10	00
Mrs. Grey		10	00
Mr. George Illidge		10	00
Mr. Will. Gibbons		10	00
Mr. Richard Humphries		10	00
Mr. Shakshaft		10	00
Mr. Ralph Davies		10	00
Mr. Tho. Foulkes		10	00
Mr. Saunders		10	00
Mr. John Johnson		10	00
Mr. Halliweh		10	00

	£	s.	d.
Mr. James Crawford		10	00
Mr. Bostock		10	00
Mr. James Littler		10	00
Edward Richards		10	00
Humphrey Sharp		10	00
Mr. Heathley		10	00
Henry Yates		10	00
Mr. Tho. Young		09	00
Mr. Rowley		07	06
Mrs. Lewis		07	06
Mrs. Martha Dason		07	06
Mrs. Johnson, Wid.		07	06
Mrs. Price		07	06
Mrs. Sisby Smith		07	00
Jane Lea		06	00
Mr. Broster		05	00
Mr. John Ashly		05	00
Mr. Bolton		05	00
John Baggaly		05	00
John Critchley		05	00
Jno. Bromfield		05	00
Richard Williams		05	00
Mrs. Ridge		05	00
Widdow Venables		05	00
Mrs. Burroughs, Widdow		05	00
Mrs. Wright of Elton		05	00
Lydea		05	00
Ann Tomaston		05	00
Mrs. Alcock's		05	00
Mary Key		05	00
Mary Lutterel		05	00
Wid. Cooke		05	00
Sarah Humphries		05	00
Mrs. Mary Catteral		05	00
Mrs. Ann Jones		05	00
Hannah Monson		05	00
Mary Meddowes		05	00
Richard Humphries		05	00
Widdow Ellis		03	00
John Vaughan		02	06

	£	s.	d.
Tho. Danald		02	06
John		02	06
Adam Arnot		02	06
Mr. William Done		02	06
Mr. Samuel Orton		02	06
Simon Love		02	06
Mrs. Wrench		02	06
Mrs. Harrison		02	06
Mary Cartman		02	06
Elizabeth Britain		02	06
Jane Hulton		02	06
Widdow Smith		02	06
Barbara Edwards		02	06
Daniel Peacock		02	00
Ann Potter		02	00
Mrs. Colly		02	00

	£	s.	d.
Sarah Suthern		02	00
Tho. Mullinex		02	00
William Hickmore		02	00
W——		01	00
Mary Moss		01	00
Robert Collier		01	00
Richard Holland		01	00
For old Boards and Stones		11	00
Mr. Norbury gave the Writings which with Pains was valued at Two Guineas.			
Total	£491	10	03

PAID FOR BUILDING A NEW MEETING PLACE IN CHESTER, AS APPEARS BY THE ACCOUNTS KEPT OF THE PARTICULAR PAYMENTS . . . 1699.

	£	s.	d.
Paid the Purchase Money to Mrs. Shone	040	00	00
Paid Ralph Holland	005	00	00
Paid Owen Shone	005	00	00
Paid Samuel Coleclough for the Roof	200	00	00
Paid for Brick	033	03	06
Paid for Lime	015	16	11
Paid for Sand	001	09	08
Paid for Carriage of Brick	008	10	09
Paid for Carriage of Sand	000	09	09
Paid the Masons	027	08	08
Paid the Bricklayers	020	09	11
Paid the Joyners and Wheel-wrights	027	03	09
Paid the Glasiers	015	03	00
Paid the Plaisterers	009	13	09
Paid the Sawyers	004	14	00
Paid the Smith	002	14	00
Paid the Carver	004	00	00

	£	s.	d.
Paid the Painter	003	00	02
Paid the Pavers	006	07	09
Paid the Gardiner	001	16	00
Paid the Slater for the Porch and Work done at the old Chappell	001	02	02
Paid to Day Labourers	008	09	05
Paid for Carpenters Work beside the Roof	015	13	04
Paid for Carriage of Dail too and from the old Chappell	000	10	10
Paid for Nailes and Hinges	010	16	11
Paid for Water	000	10	00
Paid for meat and drink for the Workmen	003	11	08
Paid Mr. Tho. Davies	045	14	04
Gave T. Kennion for his Advice in drawing the Moddle	001	01	06
Gave Samuel Coleclough	000	02	06
Gave Mr. Walton a P^{r} of Gloves	000	04	00
Allow'd Mr. Samuel Bennett for Carriage of Timber and the Damage his Cart Receiv'd	002	02	00
Paid for a Certificate for the Place and for a P^{r} of Gloves for Mr. P.	000	03	06
Paid for Stamp Paper and gave Mr. Norbury's Man	000	11	00
Paid Mr. Heathley for the Writings about the Settlement of the Place	001	05	00
Paid Mr. Kirkes for the Watch	005	13	00
Paid for severall other Things	003	03	04
Totall	532	16	01

CONTRIBUTORS TOWARDS BUILDING A GALLERY IN MR. HENRY'S MEETING PLACE, MAY, 1707.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
S^{r} Henry Ashurst	08	00	00	Mr. Yeoman	03	15	00
Mr. Deane	05	00	00	Mr. Murry	02	10	00
Mrs. Farington	05	00	00	Mr. Gibbons	02	10	00
Mr. Holland	04	00	00	Mr. Scoles	02	10	00
Mr. Parry	04	00	00	Mr. Heathley	02	10	00
Mr. Hinks	04	00	00	Mr. Danald	02	10	00

	£	s.	d.
Mrs. Jackson	02	03	00
Mrs. Soden	02	00	00
Mr. Poole	02	00	00
Mr. George	02	00	00
Mr. Henry out of the Fast Money	01	00	00
Mr. Leckonbee	01	10	00
Mr. Whitfeild	01	10	00
Mr. Croughton	01	10	00
Mr. Birkenhead	01	10	00
Mr. Taylour	01	10	00
Mr. Sudlow	01	10	00
Mr. Harvy	01	01	06
Mrs. Hind	01	01	06
Mr. Hall	01	01	06
Mr. Leenes	01	01	06
Mr. Sparke	01	01	06
Mr. Reynalds	01	01	06
Mr. Club	01	01	06
Mr. Parrat	01	00	00
Mrs. Gerrard	01	00	00
Mr. Godson	01	00	00
Mr. Hiccock	01	00	00
Mr. Sam^{ll} Yates	01	00	00
Mr. Hallet	01	00	00
Mr. Beavan	01	00	00
Mr. Tylston	00	11	06
Mrs. Higginson	00	10	09
Mr. Shaw	00	10	00
Mr. Dannald	00	10	00
Mr. Mollyney	00	10	00
Mr. Ashly	00	10	00
Mr. Simpson	00	10	00
Mr. Taylour's Man	00	10	00
Mr. Hill	00	05	00
Mr. Morris	00	05	00
Mr. Welds	00	05	00
Mrs. Weane	00	05	00
For the Gallery at Mr. Harvey's	00	05	00
From Mr. John Taylour More	00	05	00
	85	00	09

LAID OUT FOR BUILDING THE GALLERY, MAY, 1707.

	£	s.	d.
Paid the Carpenters	39	15	00
Paid the Carpenters	30	00	00
Paid the Carpenters	10	00	00
Paid the Plasterer for Whiting	00	15	00
Paid the Paynter Mr. Crane	00	14	00
Paid the Paver	00	12	00
Paid Charles Price	00	10	00
Paid Mr. Kirkes what he Laid Down	00	08	02
Paid for Six Slitt Dales	00	08	00
Paid John Foulkes	00	07	06
Paid Thomas Mers	00	06	00
John Foulkes had a Bag of Nailes	00	05	00
Paid More	00	05	00

	£	s.	d.
Paid for this Booke	00	04	00
Paid Mr. Alcock Jun^{r} the Smith	00	03	09
Paid the Joyner for Mending the Seates and for Nailes	00	01	10½
Paid the Mason	00	01	06
Paid Widdow Rogers for Weeding the Yard	00	01	06
Paid for Cleaning the Windowes	00	01	06
Paid a Gardiner for cutting the Grass-platt	00	00	08
Paid Mr. Club for Nailes	00	00	05½
	85	00	05

SUBSCRIBERS TO RESTORATION, 1899–1900

Name.	Address.	Amount. £	s.	d.
A				
"A Lover of Matthew Henry"	America	5	0	0
Ashton, Mrs. Thomas	Didsbury	5	0	0
B				
Beale, Mrs. E. S.	London	2	0	0
Bennett, The Misses	St. Asaph	1	1	0
Blayney, A.		0	10	6
Boult, C. R.	Liverpool	5	0	0
Boult, The Misses	Liverpool	5	0	0
Boulton, The Misses		0	7	6
Bowman, Mrs.	Bolton	2	0	0
Brassey, Herbert		5	0	0
Bridgett, Miss	London	1	1	0
B. & F. U. Association	London	50	0	0
"Brother and Sister"		2	0	0
Brother Minister A.		0	5	0
Brown, F. F.		0	10	0
Bruce, Mrs. M. (The late)	London	5	0	0
Brunner, Sir J. T., Bart., M.P.	Liverpool	50	0	0
C				
Carpenter, Rev. J. Estlin, M.A.	Oxford	1	1	0
Chitty, G. W.	Dover	1	0	0
Clarke, Mrs.	Port Sunlight	0	2	0

Name.	Address.	Amount. £	s.	d.
Colfox, Wm. B. A.	Bridport	2	2	0
Crook, J., "In Memoriam"	Bolton	2	0	0
Cross St. Chapel Fellowship Fund	Manchester	2	2	0
D				
Darbishire, Mrs.	Liverpool	10	0	0
Dixon, Mrs. N.	Hull	0	10	0
Durning-Lawrence, Lady	London	5	0	0
E				
E. F. J.	Holmwood	5	0	0
E. F. L.	Stourbridge	3	3	0
Ellson, Mrs.		0	5	0
Evans, Major, V.D.	Liverpool	1	1	0
F				
Francis, Mrs. F.		10	10	0
Frost, Sir T. G. (3 donations)		113	0	0
Frost, Miss M.	West Kirby	1	1	0
Fryer, Mrs.	Didsbury	1	1	0
Fryer, Miss	Didsbury	1	1	0
Fryer, Miss A.	Didsbury	1	1	0
G				
Gair, H. W.	Liverpool	10	10	0
Garside, Mr. and Mrs.		5	0	0
Garside, Miss		0	10	0
Garside, Miss (Sale of Goods worked by her)		1	15	0
Gibb, Miss		1	1	0
Girvin, Mrs.		0	15	6
Gordon, Rev. Alex., M.A.	Manchester	2	2	0
Gordon, T. H.	Tarporley	5	0	0
Gresty, John	Whitchurch	1	0	0
Guest, Mr.		0	5	0
Guest, Mrs.		0	5	0

H

Name.	Address.	Amount. £	s.	d.
Harding, Mrs., and Family		0	13	0
Harris, Robert	Southport	1	1	0
Harrison, John	London	1	1	0
Harrold, Miss C.	Birmingham	25	0	0
Haslam, W.	Bolton	1	0	0
Haslam, Mrs.	Bolton	1	1	0
Harwood, John	Bolton	3	0	0
"H. F."	Liverpool	0	10	0
Haycock, Rev. H. E.		1	1	0
Healey, David	Heywood	0	10	0
Hicks, J. E. (The late)	Southport	0	5	0
Hocknell, Mrs.		0	10	0
Holland, C. M.	Wrexham	10	10	0
Holland, W.	Liverpool	5	0	0
Holley, Mrs.		0	5	0
Holt, Richard D.	Liverpool	2	2	0
Holt, Miss E. G.	Liverpool	5	0	0
Holt, Mrs.	Liverpool	5	0	0
Holt, Alfred	Liverpool	10	0	0
H. R.	Eccles	1	0	0
Holt, P. H.	Liverpool	10	0	0

I

Name.	Address.	Amount. £	s.	d.
Illingworth, F. H.		25	0	0
"In Memoriam," Elizabeth Brassey, Sept. 12, 1812		2	0	0
"In Memoriam," Mrs. Charlton		5	0	0

J

Name.	Address.	Amount. £	s.	d.
Johnson, Major Bryan		15	0	0
Johnson, T. A.	Northwich	15	0	0
Johnson, Mrs. (The late), and Miss H. M.	Liverpool	5	0	0
Johnson, W. H.	Cork	2	2	0
Johnston, James		3	0	0
Jones, C. W.	Liverpool	10	0	0
Jones, W. H.		2	0	0

Name.	Address.	Amount.		
K				
		£	s.	d.
Kempson, Mrs. E.	Leicester	0	10	6
Klein, Hon. Mrs. De B.	Liverpool	2	2	0
L				
Laycock, James	Scarborough	1	0	0
Leigh, Miss Lydia S.	Swinton	2	0	0
Linsley, J. T.	Bath	0	10	6
Liverpool Fellowship Fund		15	0	0
Lloyd, Edwin (The late)		10	0	0
Lloyd, Mrs., "In Memoriam"		5	0	0
Long, William	Warrington	10	10	0
M				
Malcolm, Mrs.	Belfast	2	2	0
Manfield, Sir Philip (The late)	Northampton	10	0	0
Mansell, R.	Shrewsbury	0	5	0
Marshall, F., K.C.	London	3	3	0
Martineau, Rev. Dr. (The late)	London	2	2	0
Martineau, The Misses M. C. and C. A.	London	5	0	0
Martineau, David	London	0	10	6
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Nettlefold, Fred.	London	25	0	0
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O				
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Orrett, Mrs. Ann		1	0	0
Orrett, William		5	0	0
Orrett, Arthur		5	0	0
Orrett, Mrs. Arthur		2	0	0

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P				
Parry, Mrs. James		1	0	0
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Powell, Edward		2	2	0
Powell, Mrs. E.		2	2	0
Pownall, John	Llangollen	5	0	0
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Price, Mrs. M.	Chepstow	5	0	0
R				
Rathbone, William	Liverpool	10	10	0
Roberts, Rev. and Mrs. H. D.		6	6	0
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R. W.	Manchester	1	0	0
S				
Sharpe, Miss Emily	London	2	0	0
Skeldon, James		0	10	6
Street, Rev. J. C.	Shrewsbury	0	10	6
Smith, Miss Durning	London	10	0	0
T				
Tasker, Mrs.		2	0	0
Tate, C. Ashworth	London	5	0	0
Taylor, J. E.	London	3	3	0
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[These two lists have been kindly arranged by my young friends, Arthur and Charles Orrett.]

APPENDIX

A PERSONAL visit to Dr. Williams's Library has enabled me to examine the MSS. amassed by Walter Wilson (see pp. 121 n. 193 n.). There is a copy (made in 1806) of a document drawn up by "a layman who was a member with Dr. Doddridge at Northampton." It is a *History of the Dissenting Interest* from 1695–1731.

The standpoint of the "Layman" is very orthodox: and in this light it must be read. The Presbyterian "young men" are tainted. Taunton in the West, and the Peak in the North, are to him nursing grounds of heresy, and he is sure that "among other qualifications their hearts ought to be seasoned with grace.' Salter's Hall proceedings, in his opinion, were only a "screen." "Layman" examines the question of the decay of the Dissenting Interest: and can assign Reasons for the Decay—whether that decay be great or small.

1. The Test Act was a snare, and many had gone on from "occasional" to "stated communion" with the Church of England: if not the parents themselves, "the children of such parents quit the Dissenting interest."

2. The Growth of Error was a cause. This, "Layman" sees in "the spreading of Arminianism which generally leads the van, Arianism and Socinianism, and, which is very often the consequence of them all, Deism and Infidelity." Error is shown (*a*) "by attacks on the divine decrees"; (*b*) "by applauding the doctrine of universal redemption." This is "benevolent," but "these charitable sentiments produce a small opinion of revela-

tion, and of the necessity of it in order to salvation. The doctrine of the Trinity is with them matter of jest and ridicule": and these men extol "natural religion."

"Layman" tells us that the London Churches collected for their brethren in the country. The Presbyterian amount (presumably in 1731) was £2,025; the Independent, £1,684; the Baptist, £500 (but mostly from "funds").

The Baptists, doctrinally, were a very mixed lot in "Layman's" estimation. The Independents "almost to a man are Calvinists, and on that account are the more united in judgment of any set of Christians in the kingdom, and were they but as much cemented in affection and acted with greater concert to serve the real interests of Christianity, were some few of them masters of a little more temper, prudence, and charity, and others a little more zealous, it would be a pleasing prospect."

The "young men are of the same stamp," and "not a Church of that denomination will encourage any others—one congregation alone excepted."

The Presbyterians were in a sad way, according to Layman.

"How common is it in the mouths of these charitable gentlemen: What if some persons don't believe as others do, that are called orthodox? It is not a matter of any importance; such and such were doctrines of mere speculation; it is enough if persons are sincere in their inquiries, and so their errors in judgment will not be laid to their charge. As what naturally follows from hence, ministers of this stamp admit all sorts of persons that will but say they are Christians, into their communion; be they Arminian, Calvinist, Freethinkers, Arians, or Socinians, it is all one to them, and their pulpits, too, are ready to receive ministers of the same make. To give you a taste of what has lately come from some noted pulpits, one minister declares such persons as are against the doctrine of universal redemption destroy the whole scheme of the gospel; another denies the doctrine of original sin, and challenges dispute with any of his brethren on that head; a third affirms that our holiness and good works are our only and immediate title to the redemption wrought out by Jesus Christ; a fourth denies the satisfaction of Jesus Christ and his supreme Deity, and (?declares) that heresy consists not in errors in judgment, but that such persons only are heretics that are immoral."

[It is a curious commentary on the above to read in *The Chester*

Chronicle of June 1st, the following by a local correspondent: "The large majority of church members, led on by the ministers, *had expelled* from the church the remnant of the congregation who remained faithful to the Trinitarian doctrine of Matthew Henry." Chapter VII. is more necessary than I had thought. So much harm is done by the unveracity and bias of chroniclers, not to say historians, as in Urwick's case, that I trust the lash will be well applied on any evidence of such guilt on my own part.]

[No one can doubt that it was the Non-subscribers who did homage to the doctrine of the Sufficiency of the Scriptures. So late as 1844 (see p. 190) this Sufficiency was preached in the old Chapel. Nor is any stronger proof possible of the insufficiency of the Scriptures to bear the strain of those "Human Compositions," viz. the Creeds, than the first "Reason" of the Subscribing Ministers. God is accused of purposed or negligent ambiguity. "The Word of God" was hardly so precious to these orthodox Subscribers as the Creeds.

To-day, owing to various influences, many of their successors read the Bible very differently, and it is Man, in his upward struggles, who is responsible for the lack of clearness, and not the God of Truth. Yet, strange to say, though the Higher Criticism may shatter the old "Inspiration" theory, the Creeds still stand as absolute statements and the final authority.

The State-tied Church of England, for example, is committed by Act of Parliament and the Sovereign Head of the Church, to the belief that the last revealed "Word of God," or inspired comment, is to be found in the Athanasian Creed.]

[From the MS. of M. H.'s Life of P. H. we extract a notice of Milton, which Williams read as "Shelton" :—

"Mr. Heath Minister of Julian's Church in Shrewsbury was buryd May 28. 1666. He was of Christ's Colledg in Cambridg much prized for his learning especially in the Oriental Tongues by his fellow-Collegiate Mr. Milton who sent him down the Biblia Polyglotta in sheets to correct the Syriac & Arabic for w^{ch}. B^{p}. Walton gave him a copy."]

ILLUSTRATIONS

(1) Frontispiece. Matthew Henry.

The engraving from which this picture is taken was in the collection of Miss Anna Swanwick, and was kindly presented to the Chapel by Miss K. Bruce.

It is not so " elegant ' a portrait as that which is in Williams's *Life:* but seems to bear the stamp of likeness.

The other will be used for the stained window.

(2) Page 17. Broad Oak Farm. This building is modern. The original was pulled down, and the old oak beams sufficed for four new houses (see M. H. Lee, *Diaries*). The outbuilding on the right contains the same rafters as in P. Henry's time. The
l garden walk up the road was built by him. In a hollow to the left of the house stood the building which was fitted up as a chapel by P. H. In the present house stands a box, said to have belonged to M. H., and in it are kept the cushion of the old pulpit and some brass buttons said to have been on M. H.'s clothing. One lot is marked, "Standard Colour. Treble Gilt. W. I. & Co."; the other, "Treble Gilt. Standard Colour. Turner & Dickinson."

(3) Page 29. Old Whitewell Church: pulled down 1825–1830. The picture is taken from a drawing in the possession of the Rev. Joseph Jacob, Rector of Whitewell, who kindly allowed it to be photographed.

(4) Page 33. This letter is on one sheet of paper. A similar letter was actually sent, but P. H. slightly altered the writing on the reverse. We note the requirements of the Bishop of Chester. P. H. would have had "to renounce his pretended letters of ordination formerly obtained from certain Presbyters." The illustration is reduced. As it is rather indistinct, we append portion of the second page :—

". . . and so oblig'd as not in the least whatever Occasion there may bee to swerve from it,

"But further—Which Subscription and Oath, obliging indispensably to a Humane Rule, while it continues by law the Rule, being required not from them only but from the inferior clergy also in much lesser and doubtful matters, is, I confess, another thing that frightens me from Conformity; for, I think, if I were satisfy'd to bind myself by Solemn Vow and Promise under my hand to doe it, I should doe it accordingly, and not, as is the Common Practice, both in the Publique Standard of Doctrines and Worship give my self a Dispensation, when I please, which is in the Apostles Phrase, to use lightness, and to make our word yea and nay which of all men worst becomes the Min^{rs}. of Jesus Christ. . . ."

(5) Page 38. A Tablet with a history. Once placed on the north wall of Whitchurch Church, it was relegated to the porch: and removed, as the note at the bottom says, to the present Whitewell Church in 1841.

(6) Page 85. This speaks for itself, so far as it is readable. The original is in the old Chapel Book.

(7) Page 93. For boy's letter see pp. 22, 23. The writing is reduced. The commentator's writing is *fac-simile.* The copy is rather more distinct than the original MS., of which we have two full sheets. "The handwriting," says Sir J. B. Williams, "was such as to leave no room for envying the printer the easiness of his task." Both lips and hand galloped.

(8) Page 101. Sweetbriar Hall, Nantwich: part of which, probably the right wing, was occupied by Mr. Mottershead. Here Matthew died. The presence of this picture is owing to a suggestion of the Rev. J. Morley Mills.

(9) Page 104. M. H.'s Study. If the bottom picture is put to the right of the top, three sides of the room are seen. The chair was brought from the Chapel Vestry, where stand the old table and companion chairs. Tradition has it that the table was once in the Study.

(10) Page 121. St. Mary's Chantry (*infra* Castrum Cestriæ), in Cæsar's Tower, Chester Castle. "The Chapel is an upper chamber, about 19 ft. by 16 ft., and about 16 ft. high, with a vaulted and groined roof of stone. The groins spring from slender pillars with capitals in the style of the twelfth century."

The walls were probably adorned with painting. Colour is still visible, as of former frescoes. There is a recess on the wall opposite recess on the left. Here, perhaps, was the first series of Antitrinitarian lectures in England (see John Knowles), and, later, Mass was said in the presence of James II. This photograph was taken just as the ancient chapel was being cleaned, preparatory to service as an ammunition store! It had been a Survey office, and store-room before that.

(11) Page 142. View of Chapel from Vestry door. The new coved ceiling is shown, which for the first time discloses the beauty of the arches. The Chapel was open under the gallery, until it was walled off for Sunday School purposes.

(12) Page 167. M. H. is noticeable on cup to left.

(13) Page 210. Former Front of Chapel: kindly supplied by Rev. J. K. Montgomery. There had been a flight of steps on the extreme right.

(14) Page 222. Original Pulpit, with tablet to M. H. The companion windows are to be of stained glass, the gift of Sir John Brunner. The organ is to be turned, so as to clear the window.

All the illustrations (except 1, 8, 13) are the work of Mr. Franklin Garside, a member of the congregation, to whom, I am sure, many a lover of Nonconformist history will be grateful. We all owe him our warmest thanks.

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